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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-92-103  
Thursday  
28 May 1992

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-103

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## Equatorial Guinea

### Foreign Affairs Official Holds Talks in Moscow

AB2605122092 Malabo Radio Nacional de Guinea  
Ecuatorial Network in Spanish 0600 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Augustin Nfumu Nse, minister delegate for foreign affairs in charge of Francophone affairs, has held contacts with high-ranking political and cultural officials of the CIS as part of his visit to Moscow which began last [date indistinct] May. He is the bearer of a personal message from President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo to Boris Yeltsin, his counterpart in the Russian Federation.

According to diplomatic sources there, on (?16 May), the minister held discussions with Boris Kolokolov, deputy minister of foreign affairs in charge of European and African affairs of the Russian Federation, and held a working session with our country's students in Moscow at the Equatorial Guinean Embassy in the Russian capital on 17 May.

On 18 May, the minister held discussions with Vladimir Petrovich Krzhanovskiy, the Ukrainian Republic's ambassador plenipotentiary accredited to Moscow, with whom he exchanged diplomatic notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level between Equatorial Guinea and Ukraine. On the same day, the minister held discussions with [name indistinct], the Republic of Armenia's permanent representative accredited to the Russian Federation, with whom he also exchanged diplomatic notes on establishing diplomatic relations between Armenia and Equatorial Guinea at the ambassadorial level. Our country's diplomatic authorities in Moscow have also submitted a diplomatic note to the permanent mission of the Republic of Byelorussia relating to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries at the ambassadorial level.

According to the same sources, on 20 May, the minister held discussions with (Gurivere), deputy minister of science, higher education, and technical policy of the

Russian Federation. During the meeting, the two officials discussed cultural cooperation with regard to Equatorial Guinean students studying in the various universities of the Russian Federation.

[Malabo Radio Nacional de Guinea Ecuatorial Network in Spanish at 0600 GMT on 22 May adds: "Augustin Nfumu Nse, minister delegate for foreign affairs in charge of Francophone affairs, returned home yesterday morning from an official mission to Moscow."]

## Rwanda

### Gisenyi Security Council Reduces Curfew Hours

EA2705103092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT  
26 May 92

[Excerpt] The Gisenyi Security Council met today to discuss the implementation of the recent government decision on the shortening of the curfew, the abolition of laissez-passers, and the movement of taxis. On the line, Balthazar Nduwayezu reports:

[Nduwayezu] The Gisenyi Security Council decided that Gisenyi Prefecture should be included with the combat zones for three main reasons: its proximity to the (?targeted) Ruhengeri Prefecture and even more so to the Volcano Region; its proximity to Uganda, the enemy's sanctuary; and its proximity to the very permeable Zairian border. The Council reduced the curfew hours, which will now be from 2200 to 0500, but stressed that the curfew must be scrupulously respected and that violators will be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. It is therefore strictly prohibited to move around between 2200 and 0500.

Taxis can circulate until 2000 and can make use of roads except those (?leading) to the Bralirwa brewery. Bars will close at 2130, and the Gisenyi-Goma [Zaire] frontier post will close at 2000 but traffic will stop at 1800. The so-called heavy truck barrier will close from 1800 while all other crossings will be made at the main barrier, La Corniche.

Concerning laissez-passers, the status quo is being maintained as far as crossing the border is concerned. This means that the laissez-passers which are issued by the police on both sides of the border will still be required.

All the measures come into effect as of today, 26 May. [passage omitted]



### Ethiopia

#### Government Announces Lifting of Remaining Curfews

EA2705220092 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 27 May 92

[Statement issued by the Office of the President in Addis Ababa on 27 May]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Transitional Government of Ethiopia, in view of the climate of peace and stability, the people's determination to safeguard peace, and the historic day of 28 May, has resolved to lift the curfew established in some cities as of 27 May.

Accordingly the people's right to travel from one part of the country to another by day or night has been restored. This right is one of the democratic and free rights for which the heroic combatants sacrificed their dear lives. Every citizen should recognize this and safeguard this right against those forces which want to use it for their activities against peace and democracy.

### Kenya

#### FORD Secretary General Censured for Moi Meeting

EA2705212592 Nairobi KNA in English  
1542 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Nairobi, 27 May (KNA)—A national FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] steering committee meeting under the interim chairman, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, this morning heavily censured the party's secretary-general, Mr Martin Shikuku, for his 20 May meeting with President Daniel arap Moi and also stripped him off the duties of being in charge of the party's recruitment.

The delegates from all over the Republic converged at the Ufungamano House [in Nairobi] today and spent the whole morning debating on the merits and demerits of the

Shikuku-Moi meeting with a big division emerging on whether to suspend him as secretary-general or retain him.

Mr Odinga himself opened the debate and in his opening remarks he reminded the delegates of the meeting, which he said FORD headquarters was not aware of, and called on Shikuku to clear the air. The most vocal member of the committee [incomplete sentence as received]

### Somalia

#### USC Statement Condemns Aims of 'Manifesto Group'

EA2705214592 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali  
1815 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] A statement released by the Office of the Secretary of Information of the United Somali Congress [USC], Mr. Gas [as heard], has clarified that the self-proclaimed Manifesto Group has seized the country's assets and gotten a share of the money that came into the country illegally in the form of bonds without considering the workers and soldiers of the country.

It is very surprising that this clique has called for limiting commercial activity at Mogadishu port. It is also bringing in counterfeit money with the aim of totally destroying the national economy. The secretary continued that this self-appointed clique is very angry and alarmed over the victories achieved by the forces of the Somali Liberation Army.

They deliberately shoot at Somali commercial ships coming to the help of the suffering people. The Manifesto Group wishes to sow provocation and enmity among the brotherly Somali people, who already have serious problems. Finally, the secretary called on the people living south and north of Mogadishu to remain alert to any further fighting and bloodshed among Somali brothers and to jointly thwart any party interested in creating conflicts among Mogadishu residents.

**Commission—ANC-Inkatha Rivalry Behind Unrest**

*MB2705133592 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1153 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Cape Town May 27 SAPA—The political battle between the supporters of the African National Congress [ANC] and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] was the primary cause of the violence in Natal and on the Reef, the Goldstone Commission said on Wednesday.

In a statement released in Cape Town, the chairman of the Commission into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, ruled out the possibility of setting up further multiple committees to inquire into specific allegations of past violence and intimidation, saying it would only exacerbate tensions and anger.

On the issue of allegations of involvement in the violence by members of the security forces, Judge Goldstone said that even if these proved to be justified, such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the IFP and the ANC.

"The SA [South African] Police and SA Defence Force have become involved in attempts to stop the violence and investigate criminal conduct. On many occasions, that intervention has resulted in allegations being made by both IFP and ANC supporters of misconduct and bias on the part of the security forces.

"Even if the allegations against members of the security forces prove to be justified, such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and the IFP."

Both the ANC and Inkatha had resorted to violence and intimidation in their attempts to gain control over geographic areas.

The commission had decided that in the present circumstances, no purpose would be served by setting up multiple committees to inquire into specific allegations of past violence and intimidation in Imbali, Empangeni and Umlazi in Natal and the greater Soweto area and Alexandra township in the Transvaal.

"Such inquiries would necessarily be extremely lengthy and costly. Inquiries into past violence would also exacerbate tensions and anger in the areas in question and would therefore in no way serve to curb violence and intimidation."

Judge Goldstone said the commission would continue to inquire into the phenomenon of violence and use its powers to investigate violent incidents which could enable it to ascertain the causes of violence and intimidation.

He said the current violence would not abate until leaders and supporters of the IFP and the ANC agreed to:

—Abandon violence and intimidation as political weapons;

—The dispossession of their supporters of all weapons unlawfully possessed for purposes of violence or intimidation;

—Take effective disciplinary measures against supporters where necessary; and

—Recognise the right of all to support any political party of their choice openly and freely.

"In the event of these steps being taken by the ANC and the IFP, then government agencies, both national and regional in all areas and particularly in kwaZulu, must fairly and without favour support, encourage and protect open and lawful political debate and activity by all political parties," said Judge Goldstone.

He stressed that no one other than the two parties involved had the power to effectively curb the violence and intimidation being perpetrated by their respective supporters.

"They should resolve to do so and to that end to harness fully and effectively the structures of the National Peace Accord."

Current inquiries being conducted by the commission relate to the violence and intimidation in Thokoza, including the conduct of 32 Battalion, allegations by THE WEEKLY MAIL on the sponsoring of violence by the SADF, the train violence, the taxi wars, alleged conduct of the criminal information service in the southern Transvaal, and the conduct and policing of mass demonstrations, marches and picketing.

Judge Goldstone said the commission was also considering various other investigations "in furtherance of its mandate and in striving for a community free from violence and intimidation".

**Government 'Vindicated'**

*MB2805053492 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2019 GMT 27 May 92*

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town May 27 SAPA—The Goldstone Commission on Wednesday destroyed the charge that the government or a mysterious third force was behind political violence, instead calling on the African National Congress [ANC] and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] to end the bloodletting.

In a statement and interim report with far-reaching political repercussions, Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone vindicated long-standing government claims the two antagonists were at the heart of violence in Natal and on the Witwatersrand.

The judge's statement prompted the ANC to call a meeting with its allies on Thursday to formulate a response. Its initial response was the judge's statement had raised "critical issues" at a time when the National Peace Accord and its instruments were facing re-evaluation.

The IFP accepted the report, saying the commission had its finger on the pulse of the violence.

In turn Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel confirmed the report had voiced what the government had been saying all along.

Mr. Justice Goldstone acknowledged the government's historic contribution to the violence through past undemocratic repression. He also chastised it for tardy action where policemen were involved in criminal acts but said no purpose would be served in merely conducting further inquiries in order to apportion blame for past violence.

In the interim report, the second to be tabled in Parliament, he said no evidence had been received which suggested there was a sinister and secret organisation or group committing acts of violence in furtherance of some nefarious political aim.

"The commission has received no evidence which would suggest that there is a third force of this type."

This was a phrase used by many people in many contexts and with no consistency, he said, most recently by ANC President Nelson Mandela who had used it to describe the activities of the SADF's [South African Defense Force] 32 Battalion, hit squads and the police.

The report came in the shadow of a gathering storm around accusations by Mr. Mandela that President F W de Klerk was behind the killing of blacks, and in the wake of urgent efforts to shore up the National Peace Accord which has suffered under increasing strain through alleged non-compliance by signatories.

Mr. Justice Goldstone's remarks have assailed a prime propaganda pillar of the ANC which has been used as the foundation for demands in constitutional negotiations: that the government must relinquish control of the security forces in the transition to a settlement.

The third force has been the alleged government vehicle for participation in township wars and unofficial backing of the IFP, particularly in Natal and the Transvaal. It was the instrument used to destabilise black communities through violence, the ANC has persistently claimed from local and international platforms.

Mr. Justice Goldstone's findings, observers commented, are bound to find antagonistic responses but the commission's international good standing was a difficult obstacle for groups wishing to repudiate it. In certain quarters the findings are viewed as an important factor in defusing the gathering tension around the accusations of complicity being traded between the government and the ANC.

If viewed optimistically, the findings may be instrumental in exposing the futility of parties apportioning blame and accentuate the need to get on with the stalled

negotiation process to create the democratic conditions under which peace and resumed economic progress can still the violence.

### Kriel Comments

*MB2705170692 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1627 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Cape Town May 27 SAPA—Claims by the African National Congress [ANC] that security forces were responsible for the violence must be dismissed as a smokescreen for its inability to control its followers, Law and Order Minister Mr. Hernus Kriel said on Wednesday.

Reacting to the Goldstone Commission's interim report tabled in Parliament on Wednesday, Mr. Kriel said there could no longer be any doubt that the true cause of violence in the country was political rivalry.

"The finding (by the Goldstone Commission) that the primary cause of violence is the power struggle between the ANC and Inkatha is indisputable confirmation of what the government and the SA [South African] Police [SAP] have been saying ... all along.

"It should now also be clear to even the most biased of observers that the ANC and Inkatha have a major role to play to end the violence."

The government and the SAP shared the view that the failure of organisations to take steps to halt the violence had contributed to the bloodshed.

These included their apparent unwillingness to abandon violence and intimidation as political weapons, their failure to disarm their supporters, their failure to take steps against followers involved in violence, and their failure to recognise the democratic right of free political association.

Mr. Kriel said the whole world should note that the SA Police and the SADF [South African Defense Force] were not responsible for the violence and were doing everything to combat it. It was not within the power of the security forces to remove the causes of violence.

The government had also noted the commission's criticism of the security forces, and that immediate steps would be taken to remedy the situation.

### Mandela Reacts

*MB2805115992 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1100 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Nelson Mandela says he does not accept traditional opinion that the ANC's [African National Congress] political rivalry with Inkatha is the main cause of political violence. Justice Richard Goldstone said in a preliminary report yesterday that the violence will not stop until the two parties discipline their followers. The ANC president has told delegates to the organization's

four-day policy conference in Johannesburg that Goldstone's finding is both superficial and premature. John Matham reports:

[Begin recording] [Matham] Mandela says the finding is premature, because it preempts investigations which Goldstone's Commission is making into allegations of SADF [South African Defense Force] training of IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] members and state funding of Inkatha. He says it's superficial because it ignores the fact that the rivalry between the ANC and the IFP has been actively encouraged by the government, and it also ignores the reality that it is the government which has the responsibility and the power to end violence. Mandela indicated strongly his belief that Goldstone is biased.

[Mandela] We remain convinced that the police and army are responsible for fomenting the violence.

[Matham] Much of Mandela's speech was devoted to a scathing commentary on the government's record of covert operations and corruption. He stopped short of making the kind of personal attack on F.W. de Klerk's record in dealing with violence which has been a regular feature of recent speeches overseas. [end recording]

With regard to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], Mandela told the 700 delegates to the four-day conference that it would be wrong to suggest the Codesa process has failed. On the contrary, he suggested it's the National Party which has failed.

[Begin Mandela recording] The National Party has failed to come to grips with the cry for democracy, which is echoing throughout our land. [end recording]

#### **Peace Committee on Mistrust of Security Forces**

*MB2705133492 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1039 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Johannesburg May 27 SAPA—A lack of trust in the security forces was a major obstacle in the way of achieving peace in South Africa, the National Peace Committee (NPC) said on Wednesday after meeting late into Tuesday [26 May] night.

"The containment of violence through the normal process of co-operation between the police and community is being denied in the violence-torn areas by the breakdown in normal community structures and the lack of trust in the security forces," the NPC said in a statement.

The NPC meeting was called a month earlier than planned because of unabated township violence and the NPC's ineffectiveness in combating it. Fifteen people were killed last week.

At the meeting, the NPC agreed the regional (Rdrcs) [regional dispute resolution committees] and local dispute resolution committees (Ldrcs) be encouraged to form monitoring task groups to monitor police activities and police/community relations and report back through the secretariat to the National Peace Committee.

The NPC agreed that police and community orientation grass-roots seminars be held by political parties in conjunction with the police.

In addition, members of political parties and the NPC should attend police training courses to understand the nature of the courses.

The recently formed police board, which meets on July 2, should be informed of the intended action and should give a formal report of the activities at the next meeting of the NPC.

The meeting noted that the effectiveness of the Rdrcs and the Ldrcs were being hampered because members were not always available for reasons of full-time employment or over-commitment in other activities.

Intimidation was also a factor in Natal, where two committee members had been killed.

To try to solve this problem, the NPC agreed committee members should be available at all times. They also looked at the possibility of creating a national fund to support full-time officials.

"Once normal community structures are in place the integration of self-protection units, neighborhood watch etc, co-operating with the security forces becomes a possibility."

The Rdrcs and Ldrcs must encourage and identify opportunities for such areas of co-operation.

"Ultimately, community stability would require multi-party involvement in the establishment of democratic structures—as envisaged by Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]—to manage community affairs," the statement said.

The NPC also decided that a meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord be called as soon as possible. The date of the meeting would be announced only after details were agreed to by all the signatories.

#### **Ex-President Denies Ordering Activists' Deaths**

*MB2705152592 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1445 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Cape Town May 27 SAPA—Allegations by MP Mr. Jan van Eck that former State President Mr. P W Botha and his government had ordered the assassination of black activists were "reprehensible" and "totally untrue", Mr. Botha said on Wednesday [27 May].

In a statement to SAPA he said that as far as he was concerned all relevant State Security Council and Cabinet minutes pertaining to his term of office could be published.

These documents had been handed to the office of his successor, Mr. F W de Klerk, on his retirement on August 14, 1989.



"This morning I had access to an oral parliamentary report of reprehensible allegations by a certain MP, Mr. Jan van Eck, who sometimes serves as an objectionable apologist for the Marxist-controlled ANC [African National Congress].

"(Mr. van Eck's) references to me in Parliament on May 26 are not only totally untrue, but deserve to be rejected with disdain by all responsible MP's and South Africans."

Mr. Botha proposed that the government and "hateful media organs" read a book recently published in the USA, "State Security in South Africa—Civil Military Relations Under P W Botha" by James M Roherty.

### Meyer Dismisses Charges

MB2805053792 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2027 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Johannesburg May 27 SAPA—Defence Minister Roelf Meyer on Wednesday [27 May] dismissed allegations that security agencies were responsible for the death of hundreds of its opponents as "preposterous and ridiculous".

A campaign of disinformation and propaganda for political gain was being waged against the security forces, Mr. Meyer stressed in an interview on the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] programme Agenda.

"No person in his right mind would believe" that former State President P W Botha and the State Security Council had knowledge of government opponents' deaths, said Mr. Meyer.

At no time while he had attended meetings of the State Security Council had there been any discussions or insinuations among the members of making use of illegal methods to silence opponents.

If anyone had become a danger to the state, the measures used to prevent them from continuing their activities were all approved by Parliament. "The state had certain instruments at its disposal like the Internal Security Act.

"In 1985 and 1986 additional measures were approved. There was no need for using any other methods," Mr. Meyer said.

The minister said that some of the accusations levelled against the security forces in the past had substance and that these were and had been investigated.

He had personally referred cases to the Goldstone Commission of inquiry into intimidation and public violence and had also visited units of the SADF [South African Defense Force] to become involved at grassroots level.

Mr. Meyer said it was strange that extra-parliamentary groups and organisations like the African National Congress attacked the security forces while at the same time asking for more action from them to prevent violence.

The public should also be aware of acts of violence committed by the liberation forces in the country in the 1980s when judging actions of the security forces, he concluded.

### SACP's Hani Rejects Demand for Disbanding MK

MB2805063192 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1952 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Phalaborwa May 27 SAPA—The South African Government had stolen millions of rand which would have built schools and brought electricity to every house in every township in the country, SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP] Secretary-General Chris Hani said on Wednesday.

The SACP leader, who was addressing more than 10,000 people at an evening rally in the Namakgale Stadium outside Phalaborwa, called on State President F W de Klerk and his government to resign.

Mr. Hani also called for the immediate establishment of a commission of inquiry to investigate the disappearances and deaths of political prisoners and activists in South Africa.

"We have discovered that at a very high level of the government, murder was legalised," Mr. Hani said, in apparent reference to recent reports that a state department had sanctioned the murder of Cradock leaders, including Matthew Goniwe, in 1985.

"We of the SACP have said in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] that this government has committed many scandals.

"We have seen Infogate, Inkathagate, and what we want to see now is its exit gate."

On the government's demand that the African National Congress [ANC] disband its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] (MK), Mr. Hani said: "They are wasting (their) time".

"When we formed MK, we were not told to form it by the arrogant and silly regime."

Mr. Hani also accused the National Party government of being afraid of democracy: During the second plenary session of the Codesa talks on South Africa's future the Nationalists had demanded that a new constitution be adopted by a 75 per cent majority.

"They fear democracy like they fear the devil," the SACP leader said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Brig Oupa Gqozo of the Ciskei and Gazankulu Chief Minister Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi were also slammed by the SACP chief.

"At Codesa, when de Klerk stands to speak, he is applauded by Inkatha, Oupa Gqozo, and Lucas Mangope. Ntsanwisi is vacillating, he does not know where he stands."

At the rally—which marked Mr. Hani's first visit to Phalaborwa—the SACP leader was accompanied by his deputy, former Operation Vula operative and ex-journalist Mr. Charles Nqakula.

Other members of his party included ANC Women's League official Ms Joyce Mabudafhasi, SACP National Secretary Mr. Stan Motirgoe and a number of MK cadres.

The rally began at 5:30PM and ended some two hours later without disturbances.

#### ANC To Consider 'Tougher' Policy at Conference

MB2705140792 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 27 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Report by Tim Cohen: "ANC Moots Tougher Line in New Policy"]

[Text] Rank and file ANC [African National Congress] members have contributed to a tougher, redrafted version of the ANC's policy guidelines for a democratic SA [South Africa], with financial institutions, mining policy and white farmers identified as targets.

A new 67-page document has been prepared for the ANC's four-day policy conference which begins tomorrow and which will be attended by about 700 ANC representatives.

The conference will provide rank and file members their first opportunity to discuss policy on a broad range of issues never before formally decided on by the ANC.

The revised document is the result of amendments suggested by ANC branches, after ANC departments contributed to a first draft is likely to undergo significant further amendments during the conference, which is the ANC's highest policy-making forum.

The current draft maintains a strong focus on the need for the state to address the historical inequities of apartheid, and for affirmative action.

However, it also adopts a more socialist-leaning stance, reintroducing the concept of a "mixed economy" which was notably absent from the first draft.

The new draft also addresses the question of peace and security, which was absent from the first draft, committing the ANC to the adoption of a genuine defence orientation.

The section on defence does not exclude the possibility of a conscripted army, saying only that the core of the defence force should consist of a permanent volunteer force.

The document does not address international relations, saying only the ANC's policy would be that adopted at its July 1991 national conference.

New aspects of the draft policy are:

- A dedication to "democratise the economy and empower the historically oppressed";
- The creation of productive employment opportunities at a living wage for all South Africans;
- Redistribution programs to meet basic needs, with a priority on the provision of basic services, housing and infrastructure;
- A section of financial institutions which says mechanisms should be introduced to encourage these institutions to channel financial resources into productive investment and into the "basic needs sector";
- A provision requiring the ANC to ensure that investments abroad by SA companies do not function as capital flight;
- A requirement that mining houses normalise miners' living and working conditions and abolish private security forces on the mines;
- A section which states the agricultural sector is characterised by maldistribution of land and other resources in favour of white farmers. The document says the present system of regulatory mechanisms and agricultural control boards will be reviewed and amended, and;
- A four-page addition on the subject of housing which asserts that housing is a right, although it recognises that meeting all SA's housing needs will not be easy. The building materials industry is singled out, with the document specifying that the concentration of ownership in the sector is "a matter of great concern to the ANC." Anti-trust legislation will be used to curb this problem.

Sections on health, education, science and technology, human resources, arts and culture and sport remain largely unchanged.

The revised document maintains the ANC's equivocal approach to nationalisation, stating that the organisation will be guided by the "balance of evidence", which could range from nationalisation to privatisation.

Also intact is the section on a new political structure for SA, which will allow rank and file members of the ANC an opportunity to express opinions on many of the issues currently being debated at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

#### Transkei Leader Calls for ANC-Government Summit

MB2805090892 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0837 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] Umtata May 28 SAPA—A summit meeting between the SA [South African] Government and the African National Congress [ANC] to iron out their differences following the stalemate in Codesa's [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] Working Group Two should be held as a matter of urgency. Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said in a report-back



address to Transkeians on Thursday [28 May]. Gen Holomisa was reporting on Codesa's proceedings.

He asked Transkei citizens for a mandate on the percentage required to change a future constitution—the point over which the ANC and the government are haggling in Working Group Two.

He said should the summit also result in an impasse, the international community should be called in as mediators. This would have to be preceded by the freezing of South Africa's sporting and diplomatic ties.

The Transkei leader suggested 51 per cent was sufficient for most constitutional decisions, and that two thirds majority be used to amend entrenched clauses. The SA Government is demanding a 75 per cent majority and the ANC 66.7. Gen Holomisa accused the government of using stalling tactics to entrench white minority rule to render the constitution ineffective in delivering material benefit to the oppressed and dispossessed African masses.

He said Working Group Two was the stumbling block towards the first phase of an interim government which would lead to reviewed [as received] economic activity because of the lifting of sanctions and the ending of political violence. "It (the interim government) will keep the security forces in rein because they will be part of a unified national defence and security force whose task is to uphold the constitution," Gen Holomisa added.

#### **Police Reservists Able To Join Political Parties**

*MB2705143692 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1100 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] In terms of a bill published in Cape Town police reservists will be able to join political parties and organizations, but they will be prohibited from taking part in their activities. A memorandum attached to the police second amendment bill said the prohibition had contributed to the resignation of some members from the police reserve force to join other defense groups, and had affected recruitment. However, the prohibition will still apply to members of the police force.

#### **Minister, Netherlands Counterpart Sign Air Accord**

*MB2605181592 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 26 May 92*

[Text] A bilateral air agreement was signed in Cape Town today in terms of which South African Airways [SAA] and the Dutch Airline, KLM, can operate daily flights between the two countries. At the moment SAA and KLM operate two flights a week, but this will be increased to three. The agreement, which was signed by the South African minister of transport, Dr. Piet Welgemoed, and his Dutch counterpart, Mrs. Maij-Weggen, provides for each airline to increase its flights to seven a week. Mrs. Maij-Weggen said the agreement was the

beginning of a new relationship that could be expanded to shipping links. The agreement goes into effect on Sunday week.

#### **Plans for Conversion of Arms Industry Discussed**

*MB2705123592 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English BUSINESS TIMES Supplement 24 May 92 p 1*

[Article by Simon Barber and Ciaran Ryan: "US Offers To Aid SA Arms Industry in Peace Switch"]

[Text] The US Government is considering offering assistance to South Africa's [SA] arms industry to convert military factories to civilian use.

The proposal is on the agenda in missile control talks and could have significant implications for the huge armaments industry and its scores of contractors.

The SA side has been pushing for such assistance and a senior Washington source indicated this week that it was now a key issue in the negotiations.

Armcor's [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] hived-off manufacturing arm Denel was launched this week. Denel accounts for about 1 per cent of gross national product.

Both Armcor and Denel were reluctant to comment on the proposal—they say they will "follow Government policy".

The US assistance would be akin to that now provided to eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. The administration is encouraging US firms to study the feasibility of converting military factories to civilian use.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in which the US is a major shareholder, is eager to provide money for conversions that look economic. As part of a worldwide anti-proliferation drive, the US is trying to persuade Pretoria to abandon its space launch programme because its rockets, developed with Israel, could be turned into ballistic weapons.

Armcor this week became a pure armaments and equipment procurement agency after hiving off its 25 plants.

It is reportedly reluctant to abandon missile and rocket projects which have cost taxpayers hundreds of millions of rands [R] in development.

But Denel stands to profit from US aid in converting military production to civilian use. About 85 percent of its sales are military, but plans are afoot to increase the civilian component to 70 percent in five years.

This will require vast expenditure on retooling (funded out of cash flow), an area in which the US has particular expertise. SA slashed defence spending from R13-billion in 1989 to R9.7-billion in the current fiscal year. The old Armcor has been forced to commercialise its manufacturing plants.

Denel subsidiary Kentron is involved in missiles and rocket development. Thus far, Armscor has taken a generally hostile approach to the American overture.

"It didn't go very far," says an official familiar with Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) talks.

But Denel says it is keen to negotiate with the Americans.

"If US industry wants to co-operate with SA industry towards a successful and economic programme for space ventures, this will be considered," says Denel managing director Johan Alberts.

Last October, the US administration reluctantly implemented legislation adopted by Congress to put teeth into the MTCR. The legislation called for sanctions to be placed on companies or countries found to be trafficking in technology covered by the agreement.

Armscor fell into the net after US intelligence determined it had received rocket components from Israel.

The US has since offered to waive the new sanctions if SA accepts MTCR guidelines.

SA could expect little monetary compensation for abandoning the programmes. It would still be subject to technology transfer rules and could expect little beyond what one US official terms "broader scientific exchanges with the industrialised world".

"We are basically saying that nobody (not counting the US and its major allies) can have a space programme," an administration official conceded this week.

This underlies the effort to sweeten the pot by offering help for conversion of military plants to civilian uses.

Denel management lifted the lid on the once-secretive conglomerate this week, exposing an impressive line-up of high-tech industries with total assets of R1.9-billion. The group comprises four divisions: aerospace (the largest), engineering, chemicals and mechanical.

Denel's best hope for survival is to focus on foreign military sales—a highly over-traded market—or convert to civilian production. Denel's assets have a low scrap value. The optimum solution is to convert plants for civilian applications rather than sell the factories.

Denel expects to achieve taxed profit of R210-million on sales of R2.9-billion, 80 percent of which is secured by orders, in the current financial year.

Mr Alberts says Denel will target those industries where there are monopolies.

## 27 May Press Review on Current Events, Issues MB2705111092

[Editorial Report]

## THE STAR

Hani Wants Parliament To Control Security Apparatus—"We're sure that in the post-glasnost era he will forgive us for saying this: Chris Hani sounded like a convinced liberal in his remarks about future control of the security police in South Africa," begins a page 18 editorial in Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English on 27 May. "The SA [South African] Communist Party general secretary and former Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] chief of staff, in a frank interview, admitted that the ANC's security apparatus had indulged in excesses. He called for strict parliamentary control over the spooks in future—even if most of them were from the ANC. He also expressed himself against capital punishment. Asked what sort of security apparatus should be established in future, Mr Hani said: 'I know my own movement, I know their roles and attitudes, and I would like a situation where a security apparatus is answerable to parliament.'" "Courageous words, from what many would consider an unlikely source. The winds of change are indeed blowing hard."

## BUSINESS DAY

Government Must Make Example of Dishonest, Incompetent Officials—"When government corruption is in danger of becoming endemic, only part of the answer is to be found in measures such as those announced yesterday to make the auditor-general more independent and to expedite his reports on financial mismanagement," states a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English on 27 May. "Still lacking is the intention to make examples of officials whose dishonesty or incompetence costs the taxpayers billions, or to hold publicly accountable the Cabinet Ministers who preside over dens of iniquity."

## SOWETAN

Government, ANC To Blame for Violence—Johannesburg *SOWETAN* in English on 27 May in a page 12 editorial says the "mud-slinging notwithstanding, the ANC and the Government owe it to South Africa to get Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] back on track." Nelson Mandela and Frederick de Klerk "have gone into the ring again and some ugly words are being exchanged. Although no one is totally blameless for the current violence, the Government must take a major portion of the blame. The ANC and all other organisations must honestly admit to a total failure to control their members when tempers rise. As for Codesa, we see no other way but for the process to proceed on its clumsy and ramshackle way."

## RAPPORT

Editorial Views ANC Threats of Mass Action—"The threats and hints from the ANC camp at Codesa Two, threats of mass action etcetera, is a clear indication that a moment of truth is close at hand in South African politics. This moment of truth concerns the question of powersharing and the transfer of power," notes a page 14

editorial in Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans on 24 May. "It is shrewd politics when the ANC threatens mass action." "It should be regarded with suspicion when the leader of an organization such as the ANC hints that the state president is involved in the violence sweeping the country. It is cunning politics when the ANC leaders decide to solve their own problems with their followers in this manner." "A blind man could feel with a stick that they are trying to show their solidarity with their followers, by toyi-toying [protest dance] a little, waving

their fists and marching. They think this will work wonders, especially when the leaders can go back to rest in their homes in posh suburbs. Is this type of politics really wise? Does it really help the hungry and the helpless?" "Will a countrywide stayaway, for example, encourage foreign countries, who are becoming increasingly skeptical, to invest in the economy?" "When threats are used at the birth of a new democracy then such a democracy is deformed. Even the outside world will turn away from this."

## Angola

### Commission Discusses Confining Troops in Cabinda

*MB2805101092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Peace has not yet been established in Cabinda. The Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] today met in that province with Cabinda government officials, representatives of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], and observers.

There are no problems with extending state administration as everything is under government control, although nothing has been said about confining and demobilizing troops. In fact, today's meeting centered on this.

The CCPM decided to lay down immediate guidelines on confining troops to assembly points in Cabinda Province, as well as on demobilizing troops stationed in the province. Dr. Antonio Monteiro, spokesman for today's CCPM meeting, said:

[Begin Monteiro recording] The agenda included confining and demobilizing troops. This issue was debated in view of the specific situation in the province. The government and UNITA delegations agreed on a framework for implementing the peace accords; namely, confining and demobilizing troops. Final decisions will be made very shortly, so the accords will be implemented in the province as agreed by the two signatories. The accords provide for a degree of flexibility, and the two signatories are the only ones who can elaborate on that. I ought to say that the two signatories have laid down practical guidelines on confining and demobilizing troops. [end recording]

Despite the activities of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave [FLEC], Dr. Antonio Monteiro said that he expects that only personnel of the single national Army will be deployed in Cabinda Province by September. He guaranteed that all the delays experienced with implementing the peace accords will be overcome.

### Obstacles to Extending State Control in Bie Noted

*MB2605201792 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 26 May 92*

[Text] The Council of Ministers Standing Commission found today that there are still obstacles to extending state control to Bie Province. This was disclosed by Dr. Carlos Feijo, Council of Ministers assistant secretary, after a meeting between the Standing Commission and the government of Bie Province.

[Begin Feijo recording] There are still some obstacles to the extension of state administration in Bie Province. It should be understood that we see the extension of state administration as the extension of public administration, whether it be in an objective, or subjective, sense. In other words, it is not just restoring [words indistinct] but the restoration of administrative services, and the

placement of personnel, and so forth, that will permit actual administrative functions. There are priority areas at this time, whether they be at the district, commune, hamlet, or ward levels [words indistinct] within the context of the provincial government, some questions were raised concerning difficulties, particularly with regard to contacts with lower administrative divisions in hamlets, wards, and villages. According to our information, the provincial government believes that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola has been hindering [?progress]. [end recording]

### MPLA Chief on Prosecution of Corrupt Officials

*MB2805104992 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Marcolino Moco, secretary general of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA], said today that members of the current administration who are accused of corruption will be taken to court. He was speaking at a working breakfast with Angolan journalists at Hotel Presidente Meridian this morning.

[Begin Moco recording] We think that those government officials, who have been accused of fraud, should testify before the attorney general and public prosecutor. If necessary, the courts will give their verdict. Should the allegations be proved, the respective minister should suffer the consequences. [end recording]

Turning to the crisis in the health sector, Marcolino Moco said that more attention should be paid in order to resolve the problems.

He said that the MPLA should play an active role within the framework of the ongoing electoral campaign.

On the future of the Angola Combatant radio program, the MPLA secretary general said that his party does not want to violate the news media law.

[Begin Moco recording] The MPLA, particularly in the past few years, has always abided by the law so as to exemplify the nation of laws we wish to establish in Angola. [end recording]

### UNITA Official Comments on Voter Registration

*MB2705134192 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 27 May 92*

[Report on statements by Mango Alicerces, secretary general of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, on 27 May; place not given—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Reports say that National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola [UNITA] officials have been quoted as accusing the Angolan Government of planning an attempt on the life of Miguel N'zau Puna, and then blaming Jonas Savimbi's organization for it. UNITA has



confirmed the reports. According to UNITA Secretary General Mango Alicerces the organization has information to back up the allegations:

[Alicerces] "There are reports and people have been writing about it. We are not surprised about it. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] has all along been blaming UNITA for every atrocity and crime committed in Angola, particularly in Luanda."

Speaking after he registered for the elections, Mango Alicerces said that the registration of voters is fundamental for the Angolan peace process.

[Alicerces] "I have complied with my duties as a citizen. The registration of voters is fundamental and the key to the entire process. We can now overcome some barriers, though in the past it sounded impossible."

Alicerces was asked to comment on the reports of false identity cards in Lobito. This follows Jonas Savimbi's suggestion that 17-year-old youths should change their age in order to be able to vote for UNITA.

[Alicerces] "If there are false identity cards it is obvious that they have been issued by government. We have nothing to do with that. As a matter of fact, UNITA men do not carry identity cards."

Reacting to proposals made by Miguel N'zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes that a congress should be held in late June, Mango Alicerces rejected it outright: There will not be a UNITA congress during Jonas Savimbi's tenure. The two have been expelled from the organization. Period.

[Alicerces] "I would like to say that there will not be any congress. Tony da Costa Fernandes and Miguel N'zau Puna have been expelled from the party; therefore, they have no right to speak on behalf of UNITA. They can speak on behalf of their organization and say that they will hold their own congress. What they cannot do is say that there will be a UNITA congress because that is not the case."

#### UNITA's Savimbi Addresses Gathering in Huambo

*MB2205151492 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 22 May 92*

["First part" of speech by Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, at a meeting with intellectuals, civil servants, entrepreneurs, and members of the Angolan Revolutionary Youth at the Petro Atletico do Huambo pavilion in the city of Huambo on 20 May—recorded]

[Text] We wanted to hold only one meeting during our stay in the city of Huambo with a view to addressing burning issues which, we believe, affect [words indistinct] the current situation.

First, I would like to briefly talk about our youth. I do not think that the Angolan youth can be blamed for

anything. For 16 years, we lived under a regime with which we are familiar. Our youth [words indistinct] it is important that Angola finds its feet, and that Angolan values should be reiterated and adhered to. The [words indistinct] values do not go hand in hand with democracy. When we speak of our own history, including the western African coast [words indistinct] there were just and capable people who could deal with problems.

If Western democracy did not work in Africa it was because African countries inherited the one-party system from the countries which backed their struggle against colonialism. Western countries did not back the liberation movements during the struggle against colonialism, but the Soviets, the Chinese, the Bulgarians, and others did. This is why Africa adopted a one-party system, though this represents a break with Africa's past. This is why we believe that it is neither difficult nor impossible to return to a situation where democracy and the profound African values are brought together in a symbiotic relationship. We want [words indistinct] the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] (?to be given time). [applause]

The youth represents the future. Yet, youth ought to learn from the present in order to play a role in the future that we are building. I should say that our youth cannot be blamed for anything. It would, however, stand accused of negligence if it did not pay attention to those who say that for 16 years we deviated from our own values which are profoundly African.

There has been a misinterpretation of almost everything [words indistinct] the election campaign. Yet, there are [words indistinct] which will prevail because they are true. Leopold Sedar Senghor, an outstanding African intellectual, used to say that we should not reject other values and civilizations, and that in order to benefit from those values we should first uphold the fundamental aspects of our own values [words indistinct]. [applause]

In (?asserting) our own identity, we do not claim to be living in a [words indistinct] world. We do not believe that Angola could be as if it were an island. We wish to (?reject that outright). It is [words indistinct] to say that Angolans will become Brazilians, Soviets, or Czechoslovaks. In UNITA we steadfastly stated that we wanted to be Angolans and Africans in Africa with which we wanted to share our hopes and [words indistinct]. [applause]

[Words indistinct] often think that they can forge social values. Our surroundings also influence our spirits and characterize our own [words indistinct]. If we listen to our elders and traditional chiefs [words indistinct] we will rapidly conclude that those values are very important within the context of African thought and Africanism, and that we reject other values. What we want is

[words indistinct] and we ought to accept our own civilization. In order to do that, however, we need to live in an open society.

There are those who claim that UNITA wants a return to an obsolete past [words indistinct]. Yesterday, I received a letter from a friend of mine in [words indistinct]. He said that UNITA should be clear about the definition of who is Angolan. He added that a well-informed Angolan would not accept [words indistinct] in order to enlist the support of an Angolan.

That is why we have fought. If we want peace it is because the most important feature of our combat is the dignity of Angolans [words indistinct]. [applause]

Where are the (?natives) [words indistinct]? If there are still (?natives) in Angola, then it means that we have lost our sense of direction. Instead of that friend of mine asking me to give a definition of Angolan, I could ask him to define (?native) [words indistinct].

So, our first (?appeal) goes to the youth. The youth has an important role to play in the reassertion of our own identity without having to reject everything that is not (?typically Angolan). Likewise, we must adopt [words indistinct] the values of our civilization. People may ask what values, and I would tell them [words indistinct]. [applause]

I have spoken about intellectuals, namely their origins and goals. There are intellectuals who come from the lower income brackets of society. I believe that most Angolan intellectuals are from the lower-income brackets. There are [words indistinct] who are well off.

We are not seeking revenge. We do not want to weaken the strong in order to strengthen the weak. What we want is justice from the outset.

I saw a Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] poster saying that that movement was the only one which gives equal opportunities to all. That is a lie, because otherwise we would not be facing the current situation. There have been no equal opportunities, even when we speak of scholarship holders. It is rather difficult to describe a scholarship holder. The latter does not include only those who go abroad. Those who worked as civil servants for some time and then furthered their studies while still receiving salaries were regarded as scholarship holders. There is a discrepancy here.

So, intellectuals of humble origin also wish that their relatives and fellow countrymen should be free to learn like them. [applause]

In 1975, there were people who used to describe UNITA as an organization of (?natives). Intellectuals had problems cooperating with UNITA because of that. This situation has been overcome because during the Bicesse talks the men who came from the bush performed far better than the men from the cities. [applause] Intellectuals have major responsibilities, namely their research and study [words indistinct] activities. They are aware of

the need to contribute to the progress of the country and humanity. If an intellectual does not pay attention during a debate, and only thinks in terms of Lenin or Marx, who were intellectuals themselves whose philosophies left a mark... [changes thought] In Huambo, there is still a huge poster of Marx on (?Graca Square). I do not know whether you will keep it for much longer at a time when the Soviets no longer talk of Marx. You will be the last to get rid of it.

Every form of government ought to accept opposition and difficult questions provided that there is also room for debate. Once the debate is over, we should try to reach a common goal for our own society. [applause]

When I spoke to President Senghor, he used to say that the Senegalese were always contesting the prevailing views. To tell you the truth, of the African countries which we visited, Senegal is the one which has the most intellectuals. The Senegalese miss every third year of university studies due to strikes, particularly at the law college. We would not like to have that here because we have to start from scratch. Nevertheless, in Senegal there is an open debate between students and the deans and lecturers in order to identify problems, and find solutions for the minister to consider.

That type of freedom has been acquired in time of peace, democracy, and [words indistinct]. If students feel that their interests have been jeopardized, they must air their views. If no agreement is reached with government [words indistinct], then the students have no alternative but to strike. So, first we debate issues in a responsible manner [word indistinct]. If there is no debate, there will be strikes.

As long as an intellectual [words indistinct] thinks what he wants. He will not spend his (?time contesting his own views) [words indistinct] historian, researcher, and so on. Yet, in order to achieve that one must have courage. Those who leave a mark on history are the ones who have the courage to take (?a step), and not the conformists. The latter have never left a mark on history. Only those who have the courage to air their views are also true to themselves. Some of them may even be regarded as subversive, but if they serve a cause that society, particularly the poor, identifies itself with, then it is worthwhile to be subversive. [applause]

If we speak of statistics, medical doctors, and experts, like we (?do all the time) in Luanda, then we have fewer doctors than other African countries. The problem is not that people are not interested in those fields, but that we lack the means and the incentives. Likewise, we also have few economists, medical doctors, and so on.

Our country is geared to play a very important role in southern Africa. Angola will be the link between southern and central Africa. It will not play that role fully if we do not train our own children for that major task. So, in addition to the challenge posed by the elections, the intellectuals, the youth, and cadres, the future challenge will be how Angola can be the link between



southern Africa, which includes an economically powerful South Africa, and central Africa which has more experience of governing than we do. We can only play that role if our youth dedicates itself to that task and accepts that they do have a mission to accomplish. [applause]

(?There is an) emerging entrepreneurial class, and I admire the courage with which entrepreneurs take risks. We saw several entrepreneurs in Luanda, Benguela, Lubango, Huambo, Bie, and Cuando Cubango. They are the ones who tried to organize themselves even during the time the government imposed many restrictions. It is correct to say that businesses (?have not been doing that well), but in view of the experience that has been acquired, one must not disregard the role of entrepreneurs. When things change, we will seek the assistance of those entrepreneurs so that they can have an understanding of Angola's economy.

Africans studying at universities we visited prefer to take courses in law and medicine. In Angola, there were more medical doctors than lawyers. In Sao Tome it was the other way round. We must also study the economy of our country, because without economists we might be disregarding a very important sector of our country.

When I speak I do not want people to simply agree with me. If you agree, then thank you very much. If you do not, then it is because people think for themselves. [applause] I have defended the role of Angolan entrepreneurs both here and in Luanda. As long as I am campaigning and alive, I will always defend Angolan entrepreneurs. [applause] Unless the government backs them, Angolan entrepreneurs will not be able to compete with major enterprises. The major enterprises are coming, and are buying our country at wholesale prices. We can see that. So, where does that leave our entrepreneurs?

There are people who like to compare the 1974-75 production levels to the post-independence levels. That is negative. The 1974-75 production levels refer to colonialism. Do they not? They do. You now say that life was better then. If we compare the current socioeconomic downtrend to the comfort of 1975, then we are worse off now. If you try, however, to convince me that we were wrong to fight against colonialism because we should have agreed to be dominated because this would give us a higher standard of living, then I will disagree with you. The standard of living was higher for some only. [applause] It was worthwhile fighting against colonialism. The Portuguese also had to fight against the Moors, had they not? So, history repeats itself: The French fought against the Germans, and the Americans against the British.

All peoples who wanted to assert their identity first had to remove the shackles of foreign domination. This has either been achieved peacefully or through war. So, let us not try to reach the 1975 production levels because at that time we did not have a say in the economy. We did not play a role. Do you agree with me? It is correct to say

that there were more schools and shops in 1974, 1975, and 1976, but we were not integrated in the economy. So, now we want Angolans to play a direct role. [applause]

We lack cadres in the entrepreneurial sector. If we lack qualified Angolan cadres, then we will ask for help (?elsewhere). We will ask for help from the French, the Americans, the Portuguese, and so on. I think, however, that it will be a crime to invite foreign medical doctors, engineers, entrepreneurs, and then leave Angolans unemployed.

Very well. What we said above could mean that there are no major differences between UNITA and the MPLA. The MPLA has been privatizing state enterprises without offering public tenders. How can such privatizations be regarded as fair if they are carried out among cronies without the participation of economic operators who would also like to give it a try? That is unfair. There should be a public tender open to all, but what we read in newspapers is that state enterprises have been privatized. Nobody knows who has bought out the enterprises, or for how much. Such privatizations are mere maneuvers. After all, we should have been publicly informed of the privatizations because that is the only way of liberalizing our economy, with the private sector playing a role. By privatizing enterprises among cronies, they are complying with the saying that goes like this: Those who divide and subdivide always get the best portion. [applause]

As for the civil servants, it is very important that they understand UNITA's position. No state can function without civil servants. (?Frankly speaking), if UNITA wins the elections it will not be able to train new civil servants. (?Perhaps) we could draft new regulations for the civil service [words indistinct] promote Angolan civil servants instead of guest workers. As I said in Luanda once [words indistinct], the civil servants who are afraid for having served the People's Republic of Angola [RPA] state [words indistinct]. [applause] It will not be long before the word people's is dropped from the name of our country. The word is linked to totalitarian regimes. The government is slow in changing so that it cannot be regarded as [words indistinct], but the word people's is being dropped from every name. [applause]

Civil servants should be assured that a UNITA government will look after them. In every democratic regime, civil servants are not removed when governments change. Political parties win or lose, but the civil servants ensure the continuation of the state. Those who say that UNITA will dismiss civil servants are merely spreading propaganda which we should be ready to listen to, but not accept it.

To end my brief speech, I would like to talk of peace, democracy, and elections.

We have had peace in Angola for a year now. An effective cease-fire was declared throughout Angola on 14 May. So far, the cease-fire has not been violated. We

should pay homage to the negotiators, to the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA], and People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] soldiers, who, despite various [words indistinct], have managed to uphold the cease-fire. [applause] In order for this cease-fire to exist, we first had to cross the desert. It took us 16 years, and some of us had to crisscross this country on foot, namely from here to the borders of Zambia, Namibia, and Zaire. Others had to go to Portugal and Brazil, and are still there. We should recognize the efforts and hardships that the Angolan people had to endure so that we could have peace. It was very difficult to attain peace.

There are still, however, some doubts between UNITA and the MPLA, though what matters is that no one is violating the cease-fire and nobody wants to violate it. Mistrust should not prevent the two organizations from adhering to the Bicesse Accords in a honest and clear-cut manner because nobody would like to see our country at war again. That would be catastrophic for all. A war would not be in the interests of anyone. A war would not serve the interests of anyone in this pavilion. Is there anyone interested in war right now? [audience replies "No"] Likewise, no Angolan, either within or outside the country, is interested in war.

We ought to organize ourselves as bulwarks to defend peace because most Angolans, including soldiers from both sides, truly want peace. There will be those who, for some shadowy motives, would like to wage war again. As we have done in other provinces, UNITA wishes to state that it will not wage war again. [applause] We, however, need the backing of Angolan citizens in order to strengthen our view that wars only do wrong—they destroy, divide, and delay things.

The government has taken some steps, appointing the director general of elections, the National Electoral Council, the provincial centers for the registration of voters, and people are being registered in certain areas. That is very positive, but we ought to protect the whole process in the firm belief that the country will never resort to war again. That is what matters. [applause]

International public opinion would not forgive Angolans if they had lost this opportunity for peace. Despite the problems that they face in Europe, namely in the Yugoslavia, the Europeans, the Americans, and the United Nations come to Angola not only to help us in the democratization (?process), but also give us material assistance to fulfill a process that had never taken place in our country. [applause] They have their own problems, but nevertheless they have come here to help Angola to move from war and begin the march for democracy. If we lose this opportunity, perhaps nobody will be interested in Angola's future. That would be a pity.

Peace alone is not possible without democracy. In democracy, the people play a role. Democracy creates conditions for peace. These are two inseparable elements. If we separate peace from democracy, there will be no peace. If embark on a democratic path without

taking precautions to uphold peace, democracy will vanish. So, it is necessary that we speak of peace when we speak of democracy, and vice versa.

We will be very happy Angolans if on 29-30 September we have the opportunity to choose our deputies and president because we will be opening a new chapter in Angola's history in that leaders are elected and not appointed. [applause] There are many advantages to choosing leaders. First, they feel that they must account for their political decisions. This does not happen with the deputies to the People's Assembly—this is another organ that will drop the word people's in due course [laughter]—because they are appointed by the Central Committee. Elected deputies are chosen by the people of a given area, and have specific interests to serve. A deputy is elected every four years. If a deputy does not provide hospitals, boreholes, a water mill or other commodities required by the people, the latter will not reelect him. This is the case with deputies who represent the people. The same applies to the president of the Republic who is elected for a five-year term. If he does not live up to the expectations of the people, his brother will replace him. Now we are all Angolan brothers, are we not?

What is strange is that people who have mismanaged the country for six years are still doing their best to stay in power for a further five years. They have been in office a long time, and they mismanaged the country. [applause]

Those elected deputies, or president of the Republic, will not have an easy task ahead of them because the country is on its knees. Perhaps they will not be reelected in 1997 because the people will demand that those whom they elected in September should correct in 16 months all mistakes that were made in 16 years. That will not be (?possible).

A journalist in Luanda once told me: So, why is UNITA running for a victory at the September polls if it feels that during a five-year mandate it cannot repair the damage done in 16 years? Moreover, he said, UNITA might not be reelected in 1997 and that means we should accept an MPLA victory.

Things do not work that way. [applause] UNITA must struggle for a victory in September 1992. [applause] Angola needs a new experience. Certain MPLA elements say that UNITA does not know how to rule a country because it has never been in government. Very well. The MPLA has never told you that we controlled more than 300 districts. The MPLA used to say that we were a puppet group based in South Africa. Now that we want the extension of state administration, they admit that we controlled 362 districts. After all, the enemy held so many things in its hands. [applause] In the areas that we used to control, our schools, clinics, and agricultural projects outperformed those run by the MPLA.

[applause] It was not because those projects were run by UNITA, but because of what I describe as the hinterland of Angola. There is an Angola which is restricted to the capital, Luanda, and there is the hinterland of Angola which includes the provinces, villages, and the communes as they call it. The leaders sitting in Luanda do not always sense the breathing of the hinterland of Angola, and are unable to grasp the meaning of the hinterland of Angola. There will only be an Angola, with Luanda as its capital, when the leaders understand the hinterland of Angola. [applause]

Whereas it will be the first time that Angolans will have the opportunity to vote, those old enough should make the effort to register in order to get a voter's card. There should be no room for absenteeism, and people should not be indifferent to the elections. If you do not vote, then those next to you might feel inclined to do the same. This, coupled with logistical differences, and a lack of communication with the villages, will mean that a large percentage of the population will not vote. Citizens ought to fulfill their duty by voting because the country will inexorably have to seek a new course. We should all participate and feel the joy of having taken part.

There are others who will not vote because they might not be aware of the procedures. When we left Luanda, people in Malanje told (?us) that people would only like to vote because voting is secret, and that they would not like to register as voters. When you register, you do not name the party you support. You only write your name and place of birth. That is all. Nobody is aware of the party that you support. Without registration no voting can take place.

Likewise, when you cast your votes you will be on your own, and nobody will know for whom you voted, whether it is the winning party or the one that loses the elections.

There should be a large electorate so that we feel happy to have taken part in the changes about to take place in the country, whereby each one of us fulfilled his duty as a citizen. [applause]

During the MPLA congress we listened to a number of speeches. I am not saying that they frightened us. We, within UNITA, are not of that kind. They worry us, though, particularly when (?the members) of the Central Committee say: Why will we not win the elections if we have the government? This means they have the administration that will control the registration process. The other participants will be the parties and the United Nations. They say, though, that they have the government. In other words, they are saying: We have the administrative powers. We have the bank !n other words, we have state money. Moreover, we have the media, including radio and television, so why should we not win if we have access to all that? That is a source of concern to us.

It is true that we have seen that the media, including the television, newspapers, and the radio, are constantly

biased. They constantly distort events. This has been recognized, but when an official in power says he has the media, that means he has the power to distort news. Then, we have the government to manipulate the administration. We have the bank, which uses the government [words indistinct] for [word indistinct] operations. I believe that is worrisome, because we have no government. We are the opposition to the government. [applause]

We have no bank. We have no control over oil money. We have no control over the television or the radio. We can cause some stir here and there with the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel and with [words indistinct] the distance they cover is wider. In addition to the concern we feel when we hear it said that they control the bank, the government [words indistinct] reflects a certain fear, meaning that if they were without the government, the bank, or media, they would be much worse off. I will go even further, and say that despite their having the government, the bank, and the media, come September and we will have elections, a new situation, and a change of regime. Thank you. [applause]

#### UNITA Radio Claims Spain Sells MiG to Government

MB2705090992 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] The Kingdom of Spain seems to be bent on a return to war in Angola. Accordingly, the Spanish Government has sold to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party government yet another Soviet-made MiG-27 [as heard] fighter aircraft. The ultramodern aircraft landed at the Lubango Air Force base in Huila Province on 2 May, at a time when the Joint Political and Military Commission was dealing with Spain's supply of lethal weapons to the police.

This was revealed to our newsroom by a Lubango airport worker. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] had requested the Madrid government to suspend the supply of lethal weapons because it was in violation of the internationally supervised Angolan peace accords.

#### \* Spain Reportedly Betting on MPLA Victory

92AF0719C Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 11 Apr 92 p 9

[Article by Jose Pedro Barreto: "Ill Winds From Spain"]

[Text] "I know that you were going to have a cocktail party to commemorate my disappearance, but I am still here."

The Spanish ambassador in Luanda was astounded when Jonas Savimbi spoke these words to him. The incident took place during a reception at the Hotel Presidente given last Monday by the UNITA [National Union for



the Total Independence of Angola] leader in honor of the ambassadors accredited in the Angolan capital.

Savimbi was referring to the alleged assassination attempt that was reportedly plotted against him, the revelation of which has in recent weeks interfered with the Angolan peace process. The UNITA leader was hinting in this way that Spain would be pleased at his disappearance.

Needless to say, the Spanish ambassador left the reception immediately as a sign of protest, not waiting to hear Savimbi's address to the other members of the diplomatic corps.

It is true that Madrid has clearly demonstrated its intention to bet on the government and the party of Jose Eduardo dos Santos. This tendency was quite apparent during the recent visit of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez to Angola, during which Jonas Savimbi pleaded difficulties with his schedule as an excuse for not meeting with the Spanish prime minister, thereby demonstrating his displeasure.

Not even the economic successes of the trip—which were translated into substantial accords and transactions—could conceal its relative failure from a political standpoint. Madrid has thereby retained the hostility of an indispensable partner in the Angolan process.

The relations between the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] have always been cordial. Felipe Gonzalez is regarded as one of the principal advocates of the Angolan governmental party's candidacy to the Socialist International, which would ensure the party increased international respectability and support.

### Lesotho

#### Former King Discusses Planned Return, Democracy

MB2805092292 London BBC World Service in English  
0435 GMT 28 May 92

[Interview with King Moshoeshoe II by Hilary Andersson in London on 27 May on the "Network Africa" program—first paragraph is studio introduction; recorded]

[Text] King, private citizen, deposed king, the capacity in which King Moshoeshoe of Lesotho intends to return home this weekend, remains unclear. He has been living in exile in London since 1990 when he was ousted by the military, who, it seems at the very least [words indistinct] King's son Letsie, succeeding him as regent. The subsequent Military Council, who seized power from King Moshoeshoe's deponents in April last year, also appear to be acting in concert with young King Letsie. And this Military Council's view is clear: Moshoeshoe returns as a private citizen. But what are relations like between father and son, and how does the homecoming fit into the much broader political picture in Lesotho, which is

after all supposed to be in preparation for a return to a multiparty political system? That is the question that Hilary Andersson put to King Moshoeshoe yesterday in London:

[Moshoeshoe] Immediate restoration of human rights, immediate restoration of civil liberties, immediate publication of acceptable electoral law. I don't know whether there is now, but as of an hour ago, my information was that there was no electoral law of any kind, backed by an accessible judicial service. We will need an impartial public service, an impartial security service which we haven't got at the moment.

[Andersson] I would like to ask you about the position of your son in Lesotho. Have you been communicating with him, and do you know whether or not he intends to stand down to allow you to take his place?

[Moshoeshoe] I try to monitor the situation with him as much as I can. What his intentions are, he can answer that for himself. I don't want to pretend to answer anything for him or to put words into his mouth.

[Andersson] The statements you have been making indicate quite clearly that you stand as very opposed to the military government in Lesotho. So, the character is being marked out very clearly for some kind of conflict. What kind of role do you see yourself playing?

[Andersson] I have been requesting the military ever since Lekhanya is there to sit down and discuss these issues, and I hope that one day, sooner than later, we shall be able to address these issues genuinely and seriously once their former patrons can realize their folly in supporting unjust systems.

[Andersson] What kind of support do you think you have in Lesotho? Which kind of people do you believe support you?

[Moshoeshoe] I believe that the majority of the people of Lesotho support me, but I prefer that you carry your own inquiry, your own poll to verify.

[Andersson] How do you actually feel about your son's position? I mean he has taken the throne, he is collaborating with the military authorities that you stand opposed to. What are your emotional feelings on this?

[Moshoeshoe] Well, I have no problems with my son, and I don't think in (?his work) he is collaborating with the military. He is not part and parcel of the kind of examples that I have given you. They do those kind of things luckily on their own. His hand will not be found in any of them.

[Andersson] So, you are saying that he is most definitely on your side in this situation?

[Moshoeshoe] All I am saying is that I hope he will continue to keep his slate as clean as possible.

[Andersson] So, you are urging him to stand down and let you take his place?

[Moshoeshoe] I refuse to imply anything directly in the way that you are putting it. He will decide. He will hear what the people themselves say, and I am sure he knows Basotho customs.

[Andersson] Could you just define for me more clearly, then, how exactly you would see your role? You have said before that you will do what people want you to do, but could you just give a clear idea how you see your role as a democratic king?

[Moshoeshoe] My role as both as an individual, as a person or in whatever capacity is to ensure that democracy, as defined by the power of the people, is guarded, is protected.

[Andersson] If you are not let into Lesotho when you travel down on Saturday [30 May] morning, what will you do?

[Moshoeshoe] Well, I can't think that far. I hate to think in those terms. I am hoping that I shall go back to Lesotho, and enter in Lesotho in peace, and help in the urgent development of our country.

### **BCP Supports Military Over Former King's Return**

*MB2805113092 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1101 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Maseru May 28 SAPA—The Basutho Congress Party [BCP] has unreservedly endorsed the stand taken by Lesotho's military authorities that exiled King Moshoeshoe should under no circumstances be allowed to get involved in forthcoming elections in the mountain kingdom. BCP deputy leader Molapo Qhobela Molapo said on Thursday [28 May] that if the exiled king was so concerned with the democratic rights of the Basutho people, he should have lifted a ban on the 1966 Constitution.

"Chief Seeiso (King Moshoeshoe) was in effect in control of the country from January 1986 up to the time when Major-General Lekhanya sent him into exile, for reasons better known only to the two of us."

Mr Molapo said instead of lifting the ban on the Constitution, which was later suspended by Chief Leabua Jonathan, King Moshoeshoe had slapped order No Four on the people of Lesotho, which had "the malicious aim of preventing them from expressing their political views".

"Of course Chief Seeiso knew that with the proper registration of voters the BCP would always win any election in Lesotho," he said. King Moshoeshoe's idea of participatory democracy "must be dismissed completely out of hand with the contempt it deserves as absolute rubbish".

Mr Molapo said the king's expected home-coming this week was being exploited for political reasons by the pro-royalist Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP) "which recognises it cannot win a single constituency in the

elections. They earnestly hope to divert the people's attention from the crucial elections. However, they cannot succeed because the Military Council together with 98 per cent of the people of Lesotho are determined to vote."

Asked to comment on the curfew imposed on Wednesday, Mr Molapo said: "I welcome the curfew as it shows that the authorities intend to steer Lesotho to free and fair elections and not allow anarchy and lawlessness by the so-called welcoming committee to destabilise the country."

### **Mozambique**

#### **Forces Within RSA Military Said Helping Renamo**

*MB2805140492 Maputo Radio Maputo in English  
1100 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] Forces within the South African military are still involved in supporting Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels, according to Italian Ambassador to Mozambique Manfredo di Camerana. In an interview with the independent Maputo daily publication [name indistinct], Mr. di Camerana accused certain forces of South Africa (?in border) areas of continuing to assist Renamo.

The ambassador chairs the International Joint Verification Commission monitoring the partial cease-fire between the Mozambican Government and Renamo in the Limpopo and Beira rail corridors, but the ambassador did not believe the South African Government was involved in (?the armed supplies) to the rebels. He added that [word indistinct] weapons and [words indistinct] are reaching Renamo, but he [word indistinct] that the South African Government was unable to control the entire length of the border or its own airspace.

#### **Cooperation Agreement Signed With Sweden 27 May**

*MB2805140692 Maputo Radio Maputo in English  
1100 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] The Mozambican and Swedish Governments have signed a one-year development cooperation agreement in Maputo covering the period from mid-1992 to mid-1993 [word indistinct] at \$70 million.

At the signing of the agreement yesterday were Mozambique's Deputy Cooperation Minister Oldemiro Baloi and Swedish Assistant Undersecretary of State (Gabriella Lindojn).

At the same time [word indistinct] agreements were signed regarding Swedish support in the areas of energy,

telecommunications, agriculture, public administration, personnel, and consultancy [words indistinct] Mozambique's emergency program.

Although Mozambique remains the largest recipient of Swedish development assistance, this year's figure (?marks) a 70 percent reduction on the 1991-1992 amount. The [words indistinct] paid to Mozambique follows the defeat of the Swedish Social Democratic Party last year and the election of a conservative government. Other traditional recipients of Swedish aid, such as Tanzania, and Vietnam, have also suffered reductions in development assistance.

#### **Nampula Government on Problems Facing Military**

*MB2805141592 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 28 May 92*

[Text] The Nampula provincial government has found that logistical shortages are hindering Mozambique Armed Forces [FAM] operations in that part of the country. This has been reported at the ninth provincial assembly session which opened in Nampula city on 26 May. In its performance assessment report, the government blamed the provincial military command for its inability to deal with the problem of salaries, as well as the logistical problems faced by soldiers in the districts and on the battlefield.

The Nampula provincial government report adds that this situation may have facilitated the Mozambique National Resistance's [Renamo] occupation of, or raids on, some district capitals last year.

#### **Nampula Districts Facing Emergency Situations**

*MB2605135992 Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 21 May 92 p 1*

[Excerpt] Five districts in Nampula Province are facing a critical emergency situation which has been aggravated by Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] raids. The latter have prevented assistance from reaching the residents. This was revealed by Nampula Governor Alfredo Gamito at the provincial emergency commission meeting held on Tuesday [19 May], which was also attended by district administrators and several nongovernmental organizations operating in the area.

Gamito also revealed that the Mogincual District, which has been partially occupied by Renamo, and the Angoche, Muecate, Nacarora, and Meconta Districts are receiving large numbers of displaced persons from neighboring areas threatened by raids carried out by Renamo armed men. He added that over the past few days it was reported that as a result of raids on Naburi and Moiane locations of Zambezia Province, the situation in Moma and Murrupula Districts has been aggravated.

Governor Alfredo Gamito said: "Prospects of assisting those people are remote, taking into account the stepping up of Renamo destabilizing operations, including activities in those districts, particularly Angoche where there

have been frequent attacks on the administrative regions of Aube, Boila, and Namaponda. Moreover, in Mogincual, and even in Renamo-controlled areas the situation is critical because it has not been possible to engage in agricultural activities due to lack of rain."

In the case of Meconta District, the situation deteriorated during the three-month occupation of Corrane administrative region, forcing the about 18,000 residents to seek shelter in Nampula District where basic conditions are nonexistent.

From January to May, 5,791 war-displaced persons arrived in the city of Nampula from several areas of Nampula and Zambezia Provinces, notably Meconta and Muecate, and Moiane location. Those people have been accommodated in about 10 centers in the city of Nampula.

A source with the statistics office at those accommodation centers said that recently arrived people described living conditions in Renamo-controlled areas as terrible. For that reason they prefer to flee to government-controlled areas.

He added that "people who have turned themselves in are unable to carry out agricultural activities peacefully due to continuing Renamo raids." [passage omitted]

#### **Situation in Manica District Said 'Worrisome'**

*MB2605115892 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 25 May 92*

[Text] The political and military situation in Sussundenga District, Manica Province's central region, is worrisome. Sussundenga District Deputy Administrator Mateus Paulo Songe says attacks are still being carried out against the capitals of administrative regions, locations, and villages. Speaking in an interview with Radio Mozambique, Paulo Songe added that the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] is still killing innocent citizens and stealing property from local peasants, particularly cows, goats, and chickens. He noted that in the Dombe and Rotanda administrative regions Renamo elements have intensified their criminal actions against defenseless residents. The official did not specify the number of people killed or abducted by Renamo during the first quarter of 1992.

Moreover, the Sussundenga deputy administrator said that the capital of Dombe administrative region has been occupied by Renamo since 1991, when a group of more than 500 men entered the capital of that administrative region. Many Dombe peasants took refuge in other areas of Manica Province, while others went to live in centers for war-displaced persons in Nhambamba. Other people, who fled Dombe when Renamo occupied the area, are living in Sofala Province, where they are receiving food aid from local humanitarian organizations.



Currently, it is difficult to distribute goods donated by the international community to the needy in Sussundenga because the roads have either been closed or mined by Renamo. The capital of the Rotanda administrative region is supplied through the Republic of Zimbabwe. The administrative region, which was raided recently, is more than 85 km from the capital of Sussundenga District, but trucks of the Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters have to travel more than 150 km before they reach Rotanda through Zimbabwe.

### **FAM Troops Suspected of Suburban Armed Attacks**

*MB2705052392 Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 20 May 92 p 4*

[Article by Alexandre Chiure: "Armed Men Cause Terror And Panic"]

[Excerpts] The suburbs of Maputo and Beira cities have been experiencing moments of great terror and panic over the past few days because of actions carried out by unidentified armed men. In the case of Maputo city, the country's capital, the situation is so critical that people have to abandon their houses in search of a safer hideout somewhere in the city commonly known as "placa". When it gets dark, at about 1800, it is common to see people leaving their homes either on foot or using Chapa 300 [unconventional taxis], carrying with them some of their goods including blankets, mats, saucepans, and so on.

The Mozambican Government says these armed groups, which normally operate at night, belong to the rebel movement the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo]. There is a strong feeling, however, that some of these actions are mounted by certain units of the Mozambique Armed Forces [FAM] which are facing serious logistical problems and nonpayment of salaries.

Attacks by unidentified armed men began occurring toward the middle of last year. They were sporadic until year's end, but this is no longer the case. The situation has become so critical that attacks take place in areas where one would not expect it, considering their proximity to Maputo city center. What is more, people are observing some lack of response from some army units.

The attacks carried out by these armed groups, which according to the official version belong to Renamo, take place between 2000 and 2100. The attackers dress in military uniform similar to that worn by the FAM. In some cases they are transported in vehicles and continue to carry out their operations until the early hours of the morning.

The armed men who recently attacked the wards of Albasini and Romao, about 10-15 km from the Maputo city center, remained in the wards until 0100, having begun their spree of murder and pillage at about 2100. In this attack, seven people were killed and five others wounded. The residents of the two wards as well as other people were very surprised to note that there was no

response from the FAM forces during the four hours that the armed men remained there.

On various occasions, the FAM forces appear on the site when the armed men have already left, asking: Where are they and which route did they take? The damage has already been done! Thus, there is a strong feeling among the people that some FAM troops are involved in these attacks.

The Patrice Lumumba ward which is eight km from Maputo city has been constantly attacked by armed men. During a recent attack on the ward, the FAM forces detained three men dressed in military uniform, accusing them of belonging to Renamo. Later on, it was proven that they were not Renamo men after all but members of the FAM tank brigade stationed in the area.

Incidents like these could be used by Renamo leaders to confirm their claim that attacks on Mozambican civilians are carried out not by its forces, but by FAM units. These kind of incidents may be used by certain circles of the Mozambican society to prove that some Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] troops, who are the armed wing of the Mozambican people and defenders of the nation, have been attacking people and stealing their goods, disguised as Renamo elements. [passage omitted]

In search for means for their survival, elements belonging to the Mozambican Government Army have constantly involved themselves in illegal businesses or thefts of foodstuffs. Some FAM elements have been involved in the sale of firearms, particularly pistols, to interested persons. A member of a dangerous armed group, led by Manuelito, which carries out armed actions in Maputo city, told the police that his group has been obtaining firearms from a General Staff officer for the payment of 600 contos.

In Gaza Province, northeast of Maputo, a group of government troops recently stole 74 tonnes of corn, about 14,000 bags of corn of 50 kg each. This corn was destined for repatriated and war-displaced people. The troops confessed that they had stolen the corn to feed themselves. [passage omitted]

In some areas affected by attacks carried out by armed men, particularly in the wards of Mahotas and Albasini, on the outskirts of Maputo city, residents have begun to organize themselves for defense, using whatever means they have at their disposal, including weapons such as machetes, axes, and so on. This initiative by people to defend their own wards was taken during popular meetings. The people reached the conclusion that whenever there are attacks, there is a lack of response from the FAM units stationed in the areas. [passage omitted]

### **Opposition Parties Hold Joint Meeting 23 May**

*MB2805132592 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Ten opposition political parties met for the second time in Maputo on 23 May to assess the political, economic, and social situation in Mozambique. The parties

that attended the meeting were the Patriotic Action Front, the Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence and National Reconstruction Party, the Mozambique Democratic Party [Pademo], the Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party, the Mozambique Federal Party, the National Convention Party, the Mozambican Nationalist Movement, the Mozambique People's Progress Party, the Social Democratic and Liberal Party, and the Mozambican National Union.

The parties discussed the effects of war, and the contribution they could make to ending the violence in Mozambique. According to Pademo President Wehla Ripua, the meeting also discussed the role of the news media in the current phase of democratization in Mozambique.

A further meeting is scheduled to take place soon, during which some decisions are likely to be made.

### Swaziland

#### King Mswati Receives Botswana Vice President

MB2605094592 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER  
in English 26 May 92 pp1, 11

[Report by Nkosingphile Ziyane and Ntsiki Zulu: "King meets Botswana Vice-President"]

[Excerpt] His Majesty, King Mswati III, yesterday received the Vice President of Botswana, Mr Festus Mogae, at the Embo State House.

Mr Mogae, who is also his country's Minister of Finance and Development Planning, is Chairman of the Southern African Development and Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). He arrived in the country on Sunday [24 May] and was due to leave late yesterday afternoon for Lesotho.

Speaking during the brief occasion, the King stressed the close friendship and co-operation shared between Swaziland and Botswana.

He congratulated Mr Mogae on his becoming Vice-President of Botswana and said that as member-states of SADCC it was important that its leaders met occasionally at a personal level to exchange ideas.

Responding to His Majesty, Mr Mogae said that President Quett Masire would have liked to come himself, unfortunately he was engaged in a meeting with President Sam Nujoma of Namibia and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

However, he said that he had already met with the Prime Minister, Mr Obed Dlamini, and they had exchanged ideas on matters of common interest.

He said that his delegation had come to Swaziland as some special envoys of President Masire to the King and His Majesty's government, regarding the changes that were taking place in Southern Africa and in the world.

He pointed out that as changes were taking place in South Africa, and some African countries were now moving towards opening relations with South Africa, there was need for the BLS [Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland] countries to consult, as had been their tradition, before taking any action. [passage omitted]

#### Meeting With Prime Minister

MB2605092592 Mbabane THE TIMES OF  
SWAZILAND in English 26 May 92 pp 1, 24

[Text] The Prime Minister, Mr Obed Dlamini has said Swaziland will not be left behind in the democratization process currently taking place all over the world.

He said the government is aware of the political changes in the region, particularly in South Africa and is hopeful that the on-going negotiations in that country will have the desired results. Mr Dlamini was speaking yesterday at his office when he met the Vice-President of Botswana, Mr Festus Mogae.

Mr Mogae is also Botswana's Minister for Finance and Development Planning.

He is also Chairman of the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] Council of Ministers.

He arrived in the country on Sunday [24 May], leading nine men delegation. The delegation left yesterday afternoon for Lesotho.

He was in the country for consultation on issues related to the SADCC.

The meeting between the PM and the delegation from Botswana was attended by some cabinet ministers.

Present were the Ministers of Economic Planning and Development—Senator Solomon Dlamini; Finance—Mr Sibusiso Dlamini; Foreign Affairs—Senator George Mamba; Agriculture and Co-operative—Mr Themba Masuku and Natural Resources and Energy—Senator Senzenjani Tshabalala.

Mr Dlamini said the relationship between Swaziland and Botswana dates back many years. He said the meeting will strengthen the relationship between the two countries.

He said he was happy that the Botswana Vice President came to the country to discuss SADCC matters.

Mr Dlamini said there is no doubt that the issue to be discussed between the two parties will involve drought which is presently affecting the two countries and the whole region.

Mr Mogae said he was sent by his president, Dr Quett Masire to consult on SADCC matters.

He also talked about the changes that are taking place all over the world and the new partnership that is developing between countries of Western and Eastern Europe.

A lengthy meeting between the delegation from Botswana and the Prime Minister and some of the ministers was held in camera.

### **Zambia**

#### **Belgium Cancels Final 400 Million Kwacha Debt**

*MB2805062792 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Belgium has canceled the last debt of 400 million kwacha which Zambia owed her, leaving no more loans for Zambia to repay to the European country. The 400 million kwacha canceled at the signing ceremony at the National Commission for Development Planning

Offices in Lusaka today was spent on the acquisition of wagons for the Zambia Railways.

Speaking at the ceremony, Deputy Minister in the Office of the President Dean Mung'omba thanked Belgium for having supported Zambia in various fields, including agriculture and fisheries.

The Belgium ambassador to Zambia, Mr. E. Focke, said his country considered transport a priority, adding that loan arrangements from his country will now be procured through regional bodies, like SADCC. He said if Zambia or any other country wanted help from Belgium, it will have to submit their requirements through the regional organizations, a system, he said, began in 1990.

## Ghana

### Sierra Leone's Strasser Visits, Meets Rawlings

AB2805112592 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation  
Radio Network in English 0600 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] The chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] yesterday held talks with the chairman of the National Provisional Ruling Council of Sierra Leone, Captain Valentine Strasser, at the Castle Osu. Capt. Strasser, who arrived in the country earlier in the day on a one-day visit, was accompanied by an eight-member delegation which included some of the Council members and top government officials.

The talks are believed to have centered on bilateral issues. The visit is his first to a foreign country since he came to power last month. Present at the talks were the PNDC member responsible for foreign affairs and national security, Capt. Kojo Tsikata, and the deputy secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Mohamed ibn Chambas.

Capt. Strasser has since left for home.

## Guinea

### Opposition Group Leader Discusses Policy, Plans

AB2605154592 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1230 GMT 22 May 92

[Interview with Alpha Conde, chairman of the opposition Guinean People's Rally, by Jean-Valere Mbinamanza; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Conde] We hope for the establishment of an integral multiparty democracy, the holding of a national conference, the setting up of a transition government, and the holding of free elections so that the people of Guinea can freely choose their leaders.

[Mbinamanza] Your party claims to be the Rally of the Guinean People [RPG]. Does that mean that you can accommodate people from the left and right as well?

[Conde] We find it necessary to bring together the greatest number of people from different leanings, because we believe that Guinea is the most backward country in Africa today. You are aware that Conakry is the only capital in Africa today where there is no running water and electricity; therefore, in such a country, it is difficult to hope for recovery unless all forces are rallied together. We created a rally because we are convinced that the country's situation can be corrected only if all people of goodwill are brought together. Of course, I was a leftist activist; I was chairman of the Federation of Students from Black Africa. I believe that Guinea's current problems are mainly nationalistic. We need to ensure that our people benefit from the advantages of our resource-endowed land. So, all Guineans who agree with one another and who support democracy in Guinea

to promote economic development that would lead to the people's happiness can be members of the RPG. This is our current objective.

[Mbinamanza] Groundwork has been going on since last year or perhaps earlier. You went to Guinea yourself, but you had to leave the country following some problems encountered with the Guinean authorities. Now, when you try to take stock, can you say that your party's objective, which is to bring together a large number of people, has been partially or fully achieved?

[Conde] Some objectives have been fully achieved and we are satisfied with what has been done. We are struggling to achieve the others. Concerning the RPG followership, we are very satisfied because the country's youth and women constitute the RPG's strength today. The youth account for most of the population and everybody is aware of the role women have played in the country's political history. As far as our grass roots entrenchment is concerned, we are satisfied. The RPG is represented [words indistinct] today and there is no village where it is not known.

[Mbinamanza] Speaking sincerely and based on your data, do you feel or are you convinced that you are one of the most important parties in the country?

[Conde] I believe that the government helped greatly to become the major party in Guinea, inasmuch as President Conte himself made some publicity for me. Above all, I believe that we are the only party which never cooperated with the military rulers and which very early on, as far back as 1986, initiated the struggle for the return of the Army to the barracks and the establishment of democracy. So, I believe we were the only ones to have initiated that struggle. Most of the other patriots joined us later. Now everybody knows that without the RPG, no one would have been speaking of democracy, not before 1995. Guineans are therefore grateful to us for having forced the military rulers to back off and to advance the democratic process....

[Mbinamanza, interrupting] Thus, you are clearly claiming that you spearheaded the struggle for the multiparty system now adopted in Guinea?

[Conde] I have nothing to claim. Before my return to Guinea, President Conte was saying that he would never back off; that the multiparty system would be established only in 1995. In the speech I made at Koea Stadium on 17 May, I said that the multiparty system would be established before the end of the year. Today you can tell who was right.

[Mbinamanza] A major hurdle has indeed been overcome. Your party and others have been recognized. What next?

[Conde] We have always fought for three major things: the recognition of parties, that is to say the immediate adoption of an integral multiparty system, which we



have obtained; the national conference for which we are fighting and trying to obtain....

[Mbinamanza, interrupting] You are making it a point to absolutely ensure that a national conference is organized in Guinea. Should one not be tempted to say that it is out of imitation that you are calling for the holding of a national conference?

[Conde] As far back as 1984, we published a first document. At that time, we were known as the National Democratic Movement. You should know that the RPG has over 20 years of existence, but it was not known under its current name. In that document, we asked for a balance sheet because we believed it was not possible to correct the country's situation without taking stock of the 26 years of the rule of the Democratic Party of Guinea [PDG]. We believed that such a conference would enable us to determine the positive and negative aspects of PDG rule and to reconcile Guineans to one another. So, as far back as 1984 we supported a national conference, although we did not call it that then; we called it a consultation to assess the situation. Therefore, it is not at all out of imitation.

The national conference in Guinea is needed more than in all other countries because everyone knows that Guinea is the first country with a large number of victims. It is therefore necessary for Guinea to (?discuss) its past, so as to reconcile all Guineans. I also believe that in our current situation, we can hope to achieve development only if we have an honest and open leadership. This means that the people of Guinea must prompt all those who long for power not to hide anything [words indistinct]. The national conference will enable each one of us to make himself known and to see those who can adopt upright and open leadership.

[Mbinamanza] Will the national conference be a kind of trial and marginalization of those who, as you said, were the causes of the misfortunes of the Guinean people, thus paving the way for others who seem honest to get to power and to be in a position to manage the country's affairs?

[Conde] In our views, the national conference should not be a witch-hunt. Since it is a political body, it should not act as a court.

### Ivory Coast

#### Official Views President's Return, Other Issues

AB2405140592 Abidjan NOTRE TEMPS in French  
No. 55 20 May 92 pp 4-5, 16 [tentative]

[Interview with Djeni Kobenan, national secretary of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally, PDCI-RDA, in charge of relations with other parties, and chairman of the PDCI Renovators Movement, by Abdoulaye Sangare and Frank A. Kouassi; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [NOTRE TEMPS] Mr. Kobena, following the 18 February events, the various trials of the democrat-sand, the verbal attacks on the cardinal with their ethnic and religious implications, what can you say today?

[Kobenan] You are aware that our country has been facing a serious crisis for some time now. This crisis has caused a great malaise which has been disturbing the conscience and the deep conviction of Ivoirians. For a long time, I refrained from talking about these problems in spite of invitations to do so by several friends. There is a French politician whom I admire a great deal. His name is Pierre Mendes France. All of his political philosophy is summed up in a well-known formula: "In politics, a problem quickly settled is always well solved." The longer this crisis lasts, the more it disturbs Ivoirians.

There is only one man who is capable of solving this crisis. He is the head of state. He is a great asset, but he is physically absent, although he is always being briefed on the various developments in the country. The head of state, as the moral authority of the country, a quality conferred upon him by his function and the Constitution, is, therefore, capable of helping to find a solution to this crisis. More than ever, we must use a language of appeasement to enable the head of state, as soon as he returns from abroad, to make the necessary decisions. You mentioned a while ago the statements by various people. History teaches us that hawks seldom triumph over doves. Doves always end up having the upper hand. This is why I am very hopeful. The crisis can only be solved through the release of all those arrested, thereby creating a momentum that will permit the reconciliation of all Ivoirians. Whatever happens, nothing will be like it was before because the opposition and ruling party must have learned their lessons from the crisis. Therefore, everyone must be involved in this step so that when the time comes, a solution can be found to satisfy all Ivoirians.

[NOTRE TEMPS] You talked a while ago about the return of the head of state to solve the problems. Why can he not, from Paris, take measures to help ease the situation, since, as you rightly said, in politics a problem solved quickly is always solved well? Also, we know that several decrees have been signed in Paris...

[Kobenan] You see, I cannot read the president's intentions. He certainly has some facts which I do not know about. I said a while ago that the country is facing a deep malaise. We must not hide this fact; this crisis has had some consequences in regard to the country's image. I had the opportunity to attend the trial at certain stages. I saw the accused people being brought to court. I listened to the various statements. I can assure you that I was deeply touched as a human being. I observed the faces of the diplomats who were in the court room; everyone was upset. All those reasons point to the fact that today, on the international scene, our country stands accused.

The Ivory Coast, which, in the past, was the darling of Amnesty International, that venerable institution—to quote the popular phrase used in describing it—is today being closely watched by that organization. The head of state is certainly briefed about all these things. Of course, he can, from Paris, make decisions. But, frankly speaking, I think that his physical presence in Ivory Coast will create a trigger, a kind of assurance among the people who have been waiting for an end to this crisis. Therefore, I think that the head of state should make his decision in Abidjan. This is my view.

[NOTRE TEMPS] But then one will be tempted to ask why is the president staying abroad for so long. Does he want to prolong the agony?

[Kobenian] No, let us not make any assumptions. The head of state has gone to Europe for specific reasons. If he is still there, then surely the problems for which he went are not yet solved. I do not think he is doing this out of sadism. No. I do not know when the president will come, but I am sure he will not stay away much longer. I think the situation is quite ripe for a settlement to this crisis.

[NOTRE TEMPS] This crisis was perceived in various ways within the PDCI. There is even still some communication problem within your party. You, as the renovating movement of the party, how did you go through this crisis?

[Kobenian] I do not know whether there is really a communications problem... We, as renovators, went through this crisis as republicans. You know, every political party has its muscadins and janissaries; people who always dream of dramatic situations so they can play the hero. The PDCI also has its muscadins and janissaries floating around the peripheries of the party. I do not want to comment on the inflammatory remarks made by this one or that, especially Mr. Balla Keita and many others. I have just said that hawks rarely overcome doves. We, of the renovation group, tried to calm things down as soon as this crisis broke out. [passage omitted] We thought that the democratic process, which was so badly shaken, should be put back on the track. Because of these events, and because of the ordeals endured by citizens convicted from the 18 February events we advocated appeasement, reconciliation... It is not a question of pardon or clemency. These words have a humiliating connotation. If I am not mistaken, I think it was Liote who said: "Man can accept everything, even injustice, but not humiliation." I am sure that the solution which will be found will avoid further ordeals for our brothers who are today in the Abidjan prison and elsewhere. They are still our brothers. [passage omitted]

[NOTRE TEMPS] So what did you propose to the prime minister?

[Kobenian] We told the prime minister the way we see things, that is—and I emphasize—we should avoid inflammatory calls, avoid using an accusatory tone

because it leads to nothing. On the contrary, we suggested appeasement, that is, one should consider not the interests of parties, not the interest of the PDCI as a party, but the interests of Ivory Coast, which transcend both opposition and government parties. This is what we said...

[NOTRE TEMPS] In the early stages of multipartyism you made statements that raised hope in the democratic circles. Later on, for some unknown reason you joined the ranks. Do you not have the feeling that you betrayed the democratic ideal for your personal interests?

[Kobenian] I will not evade this question because when I returned from a trip abroad, I read in the newspapers interpretations of my attitude. I say my attitude because the interpretations were basically on my attitude. I do not think I have betrayed the democratic ideal that the renovating movement still stands for. You know, one should only speak when there are chances that one will be heard. If, at the beginning of the crisis, I did not speak out it is because I did not have any chance of being heard. The political spectrum was so crowded, occupied by people who had plunged themselves so far inside that there was not the least detachment. They only aim was their immediate interests. [passage omitted]

There is a place in the PDCI for a leftist movement, and it is in this movement that we are working; we have not betrayed anyone. We must be coherent and realistic. The PDCI is basically a rightist party. There are janissaries and muscadins floating at the extreme right, with senseless positions, as I said a while ago. We are on the leftist side of the PDCI. In other words, we could fish in the same waters as the opposition. That is the reason for some similarities in our approach to certain issues.

But we are realistic and we do not, by irrationally taking sides, want to give those who suspect us of not being unconditional PDCI members the opportunity to say things. You read in our party's newspapers at one time that there should be housecleaning in the party. Those who were talking about this were no doubt referring to us, the renovators. But that did not bother us. We are convinced, and we know a lot of Ivorians in the PDCI share this conviction, that we are going to be more vocal and assertive whenever the need arises. Having said that, I do not think we have betrayed anybody.

[NOTRE TEMPS] You have just talked about hawks within the PDCI. You also said that you approached the prime minister at the beginning of the 18 February crisis, but so far, there have been no beginnings of a solution. One would be tempted to conclude that the prime minister is among the hawks you just talked about.

[Kobenian] No, you should not confuse the party and the government from which it was formed. I can tell you, without betraying anyone whatsoever, that contrary to what many people think, the prime minister is far from being a hawk. I repeat—I hope he will not be offended—he is far from being a hawk. He sincerely wanted an end to this crisis, this unrest that leads nowhere and which,



moreover, is an impediment to the policy he has adopted. This policy is very demanding and needs the participation of all Ivoirians for it to have any chance of success. Of course, after the crisis, seeing what had happened, no government could at the onset call for a return to order, that is the easing of tension. There have been excesses. But, basically, I think the government and the prime minister are far from being hawks.

When I talk about hawks, I mean those activists who always wait for crimes to be committed in order to add fuel to the fire and keep up with the Joneses. We have such people within the PDCI. I am thinking about these people, not the government. [passage omitted]

[NOTRE TEMPS] During the second parliamentary session, we heard Speaker Bedie make a speech which was not at all in support of any immediate appeasement. How do you interpret this as PDCI activist and renovator?

[Kobenian] I do not want to judge the National Assembly speaker by a speech. He expressed a viewpoint. But I must say that if we examine the situation as a whole, the situation as it presents itself in Abidjan, in any case, we cannot see very clearly how it will end. [passage omitted]

The accused were convicted; I will not speak about those tortuous and endless trials. The accused were convicted on the basis of a certain law. But if we go a little farther, if we appeal to reason, we will say, come what may, this crisis will find a solution. By appealing to the superior interest of the Ivory Coast (that is to say, to all that is above the National Assembly and political parties), we will reach a solution. This said, Speaker Bedie's speech was strongly worded. One could get the impression that he was not appealing for appeasement.

But it only appears this way; you will find something to bank your hopes on if you read this speech between the lines.

[NOTRE TEMPS] Commenting on the trial of the accused a while ago, you referred to "a certain law." Can you be more explicit?

[Kobenian] I am not a lawyer and so my appreciation of the law is that of a lay person, but it is evident that certain aspects of these trials caught the attention of Ivoirians, whether they are from the PDCI or the opposition or whether they belong to no political party. People who took part in the march were arrested and sentenced to various terms for the same offense. If I am not mistaken, some people who were not even present at the march were arrested later and sentenced. I mean a teacher who learned that his party's leader had been arrested went to the same spot and was convicted too. This is what I mean when I talk about "a certain law" or "tortuous trials," that is all. I do not want to pass judgment on the Ivorian law. Through my expressions, I am simply asking myself questions on certain aspects of trials that I do not find to be clear, that is all.

[NOTRE TEMPS] As PDCI national secretary in charge of relations with other parties, have you had any direct contact with any detainees since 18 February?

[Kobenian] No. Not yet. I say not yet because I intend to do so in the near future, but not just because I am charged with relations with other parties, but because certain detainees are friends, beyond all political leanings. It is not because I am in the PDCI that I would refuse to see my friends while they are undergoing difficult moments. [passage omitted]

I will see my friends at the Abidjan prisons to give them moral support as a friend. I will do so. If I have not done this so far, it is because I have been absent for a long time. Second, I want the tension to be reduced.

[NOTRE TEMPS] Let us go back a bit. You have talked at length about the crisis, using the words profound malaise, but you have not at any time talked about causes of this malaise. Can you mention a few of them?

[Kobenian] You know, the causes of a crisis (political and economic) are objective, but those of unrest are essentially subjective. How is this malaise manifested? Let me give an example: Catholic Christian worshipers were seriously disturbed by the controversy which followed Balla Keita's scandalous article. Another cause of malaise: the humiliations inflicted on the accused disturbed the Ivoirians who saw them, not as activists of a party, but as men. We must also admit that Ivoirians are divided today. All of this I call malaise. It is not my intention to say that the PDCI did this or the opposition did that because it is an endless discussion. I am interested in examining that malaise which we must overcome. That is what I mean. [passage omitted]

[NOTRE TEMPS] Do you think a national forum is necessary to end this malaise?

[Kobenian] I cannot give a precise answer to your question, simply because I do not know how all this will end...

[NOTRE TEMPS] We are asking you to suggest solutions.

[Kobenian] At some point in time, we renovators suggested the creation of a committee of wise men (PDCI's founders) to assist the chairman. We made that suggestion as part of an effort to find a solution. But now, it is difficult for me to make any suggestions, because I feel that to solve this crisis, it is desirable to simply release the accused. This could bring about reconciliation among Ivoirians. This will also enable the president of the Republic to reconcile not only with PDCI activists, but also with those who are not members of the PDCI, because, he is the head of state and the state transcends political parties. That is how I see the situation. I do not have further suggestions because I have not yet thought about any.

[NOTRE TEMPS] The head of state must reconcile not only with PDCI activists, but also with those of the other

parties. Does that mean that there is a split between PDCI activists and their chairman?

[Kobenan] One must be realistic. One must see things as they are. It suffices to read the opposition papers to realize that they are harboring a very deep and understandable bitterness. They are searching for those responsible for this crisis. They believe that the PDCI is unmistakably responsible for the crisis, and when you talk about the PDCI you imply the chairman of the party. That is why I am talking about the reconciliation of all those who are not PDCI members with the head of state, who, I would like to repeat, is above parties.

[NOTRE TEMPS] Do you not think that the split between the head of state and the opposition really occurred only on the day when he ruled out any punishment against those who ordered the punitive attack on Yopougon students' hostel?

[Kobena] That moment of the crisis is certainly a turning point in the breach that developed between the opposition and the head of state. Indeed, if the head of state had simply announced that he had taken note of the recommendations of the investigation commission and that he would subsequently assume his responsibility in such a way as to avoid divisions among Ivoirians, I believe that the crisis would not have reached this stage. The head of state was in a position to act in that way especially because we were in a euphoric mood as a result of the victory achieved by the Elephants [the national soccer team]. But I am not a mind reader and therefore, I cannot speculate on the head of state's motivations—on the motivations that prompted him to make such a statement. You are quite right, however, to describe that day as the starting point for the escalation of the crisis resulting in the 18 February events.

#### Reaction to Interview

AB2605150092 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire  
Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 0700 GMT  
20 May 92

[Communique issued by the Coordinating Committee for Renovation of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally following an interview by Mr. Djeni Kobena, a member of the committee, published in the 20 May edition of the weekly NOTRE TEMPS newspaper—read by Michel Benoit Koffi, deputy chairman of the committee in charge of political affairs]

[Text] Clarification from the Coordinating Committee for Renovation of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally [PDCI-RDA]: A local newspaper has just published an interview with Mr. Djeni Kobena entitled, Ivory Coast Stands Accused. The executive committee of the Movement, the Coordinating Committee for Renovation, following a meeting today, would like to make the following clarifications:

As the representative of the renovators, it is difficult for the coordinating committee to share all the viewpoints

expressed by Mr. Djeni Kobena. One must know how to remain level-headed in all circumstances. In the opinion of the renovators, the Ivory Coast is far from standing accused. The situation we are going through has nothing in common with that of other states on our continent or elsewhere which, in actual fact, have had accusing fingers pointed at them by the international community.

Indeed, which ambassadors accredited to our country were, to use the usual diplomatic term, recalled for consultations by their governments? Which international body and which financial backer has today decided to suspend or to freeze its aid to our government in its efforts to achieve economic and financial redress? Reactions from abroad come undoubtedly from groups belonging to certain political movements, but no single organ directly representing national or international institutions has made its stand known on the situation in our country. We, therefore, want to dissociate ourselves from this kind of statement that tends to intimidate and dictate to our country the type of conduct it must adopt. On the contrary, we note the confidence these international bodies continue to have in us, because after a fair assessment of the 18 February events and the assignment of responsibilities, they are assured of a fair and honorable outcome to the crisis that is currently shaking our country.

The renovators, who have already made their stand known in their appeal entitled, Long Live the Entire Democratic Process, will therefore, add nothing to the malaise of their fellow citizens, but will do everything to meet the conditions for defusing the tension, conditions based on an appeal for a responsible attitude by all and a genuine desire for national reconciliation.

Issued in Abidjan on 20 May 1992

The Coordinating Committee for the Renovation of the PDCI-RDA

#### Liberia

##### Taylor, Sawyer To Meet on Election Conditions

AB2705221292 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] An Executive Mansion release said President Sawyer had proposed a meeting with the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader to be held this week under the auspices of the (?Interfaith) Mediation Committee. The release quoted the president as saying that it was his expectation that the proposed meeting between the interim government and the NPFL will reaffirm their support for the elections commission and for the holding of free and fair elections under a conducive atmosphere.

It is also asserted that at this week's meeting between Dr. Sawyer and Mr. Taylor, the Interim Government of National Unity and the NPFL will organize single [word indistinct] of national institutions for the readjustment

and transformation of former combatants, the repatriation and resettlement of all displaced Liberians as well as the assessment of the socioeconomic situation imposed throughout Liberia.

#### **ULIMO Executive Council Dissolved; Board Named**

*AB2805111592 Paris AFP in English  
2336 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] Freetown, May 27 (AFP)—The military high command of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) Wednesday announced that the movement's executive council has been dissolved "with immediate effect." A press release issued in Freetown said the military staff and advisors at army headquarters "will carry on ULIMO's administration until elections are held in 60 days."

The release did not say what will now happen to ULIMO's president Raleigh Seekie. It announced the setting up of a 17 member interim board of directors made up of residents in Liberia and other unnamed countries.

The release said the action was necessary to safeguard what it called the well being of the ULIMO fighting men and women and the survival of the movement "which was being threatened by internal political bickering and sabotage".

The release named some of the officials of the new ULIMO structure as Alhaji G.V. Kromah, chairman of the interim board of directors, Samuel Brownell, the board's vice chairman, the military field commander, Brigadier Arma Youlu and the board's army advisor Colonel Erasmus Gaye.

ULIMO is made up largely of exiles from the late president Samuel Doe's Krahn tribe. The movement based in Sierra Leone and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) led by Charles Taylor have been fighting fierce battle in the Sierra Leone border area.

### **Mali**

#### **President Konare Steps Down as ADEMA Chairman**

*AB2705142092 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television  
du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 26 May 92*

[Text] As of today, Alpha Oumar Konare, president of the Republic, will no longer hold the chairmanship of the Alliance for Democracy in Mali-African Party for Solidarity and Justice [ADEMA-PASJ]. Mr. Konare announced this at a rally marking the ADEMA-PASJ anniversary in conformity with the charter of parties and the Constitution. Alpha Oumar Konare also took the opportunity to convey his thanks and congratulations to all ADEMA-PASJ activists.

### **Nigeria**

#### **Defense Minister Opens Naval Seminar in Lagos**

*AB2705194292 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 1800 GMT 27 May 92*

[Text] The minister of defense and chief of defense staff, General Sanni Abacha, has called on members of the Armed Forces to resist the temptations to take over the government of the country at the slightest provocation. Gen. Abacha made the call while declaring open the annual seminar of the Nigerian Navy training command in Lagos. He described the theme of the seminar, which is Nigerian Navy in the Third Republic, as timely, especially now that the nation was passing through a transition to civil rule. Gen. Abacha said the challenges before the Armed Forces in the next republic will help to manage the lean resources available to achieve the highest level of combat readiness and self-reliance.

#### **British Envoy Notes Cuts in Economic Support**

*AB2605192292 Paris AFP in English  
1447 GMT 26 May 92*

[Text] Lagos, May 26 (AFP) - Britain has had to "significantly reduce" its support to the Nigerian Government whose economic reform program appears to have gone "off track," British High Commissioner Christopher Macrae said in an interview published this week.

In the 1988/89 financial year, the British Government gave 60 million pounds sterling balance of payment support to Nigeria's economic reform programs to enable it to "stay on track with the IMF." But the country now appeared to have gone off the rails in implementing the programs, he told the influential Lagos-based TELL weekly magazine.

A spokesman for the British High Commission confirmed that Macrae's declaration reflected British policy on aid. He said the British Government has been forced in the last few years, to "review certain aspects" of its economic assistance to Nigeria because of the nation's inability to "conform" with the IMF program, to which such aid was tied.

"I would say that one of the troubles with SAP (structural adjustment program) is that it is off course...The international community has been aware that it is off course, because the IMF teams and the economists who have monitored the situation closely have reached the conclusion some months ago that the agreement which came into force at the beginning of last year is off track," Ambassador Macrae told the influential magazine.

The Nigerian economy has been growing in the past three years at about 5 percent annually but the diplomat said it was disappointing that the nation did not continue the improvement in the economy which became apparent in 1988/89 and up to the first half of 1990.



## Senegal

### South Africa's Botha, Counterpart Discuss Ties

MB2805160192 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
1500 GMT 28 May 92

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, who is on a short visit to Senegal, has held talks in Dakar with his Senegalese counterpart, Mr. Djibo Ka, on possible diplomatic ties between the two countries. They also discussed South Africa's membership of the Organization of African Unity which is to meet in Senegal next month. A Senegalese news agency reports that the issues are linked to the progress made in South Africa with constitutional negotiations and the ending of violence in black towns.

Mr. Botha will meet President Abdou Diouf in Senegal tomorrow.

### President Meets With Islamic Conference's Chief

LD2605191392 Riyadh SPA in English  
1238 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Jeddah, May 26, SPA—Senegal's President Abdou Diouf, who is also chairman of the sixth OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] summit, received in Dakar on Monday Dr. Hamid al-Gabid, secretary general of the Organisation of Islamic Conference, who is currently on a working visit to Senegal.

President Diouf and Dr. Gabid discussed the resolutions adopted by the sixth Islamic summit held in Dakar on December 6-11, 1991, peace in the Middle East, situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, latest developments in Afghanistan and Somalia, cultural, economic and financial issues and the financial difficulties facing the Islamic universities in Niger and Uganda.

Regarding the tragic dilemma of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Senegalese president and the secretary general exchanged views on the necessity of holding an extraordinary meeting of the OIC foreign ministers to discuss this issue.

Diouf expressed his satisfaction with efforts being undertaken by the OIC secretariat general to put the resolutions of the sixth Islamic summit into effect.

He stressed the need for coordinating the stands of the OIC member states in the upcoming international meetings, specially the earth summit to be held next month in Brazil, the seventh summit of the nonaligned movement and the 47th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The meeting was attended by the Senegalese foreign minister.

## Sierra Leone

### NPRC Appeals for Support To Put Down Rebellion

AB2605182092 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 25 May 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Sierra Leone's ruling military council, the NPRC, National Provisional Ruling Council, is appealing for aid following the renewal of the rebellion in the southeast which is now in its 15th month. Last Friday, Sierra Leone's Army boss confirmed on this program that Nigerian troops were being deployed closer to the war front. And now, the Ruling Council is calling on both the local people and the international community to back the war effort. From Freetown, Victor Silva telexed this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] The appeal, broadcast on national radio, is for money and materials to help in the war against the rebels. The announcement also suggested the setting up of a special war effort committee, headed by the minister of education, Dr. Arthur Abraham. Adding that no contribution was too small, the appeal reminded all that the NPRC administration is committed to ending the war and repatriating Sierra Leoneans back to their homes. This appeal comes in the wake of rumors here that the Momoh administration pocketed previous donations to the war effort. The belief here is that Momoh's regime never took the war seriously and the contributions were used for political ends. Many people here are interested in finding out, for example, what happened to the \$100,000 donated by the Lebanese community here together with other sums towards the war effort.

Meanwhile, all the soldiers have been told to report to their various units in the war zone. Those who had gone missing as well as soldiers dismissed before the takeover have been requested to report to military headquarters. They have also been told not to take action in civil matters and that the police should be allowed to do their jobs in this area.

This announcement has come as a very welcome relief to many civilians in Freetown and other large towns where harassment of civilians has been reported. In one instance in Freetown, an apparently drunk soldier commandeered a taxi with a civilian passenger on board and ordered the driver to go at breakneck speed. When the female passenger tried to reason with him, the soldier dragged her from her seat. In tears she showed me the two buttons violently torn from her dress. Another incident involved a man in combat fatigues who raped a lady. However, investigations have shown that the man is an ex-soldier dismissed from the Army a long time ago. But given the situation that prevailed at the time, his uniform and weapons were never surrendered. It is this group of ex-soldiers that are reported to be the most culpable. [end recording]



Well, with the resurgence of fighting in the south and east of the country, it is easy to forget that Sierra Leone's ruling council, the NPRC, has been in office for less than a month and that it was the conditions, faced by soldiers on the war front, which led to the mutiny and the eventual overthrow of the All People's Congress government. The renewed clashes come despite an amnesty offered by the new government to the rebels. The military dominated council is led by two relatively junior officers, with Captain Valentine Strasser as chairman and Lieutenant Solomon Musa as his deputy. In Freetown, Victor Silva has been talking to Lt. Musa. He asked him first how bad things had been for soldiers serving in war-affected areas.

[Begin recording] [Musa] The front at the time was very, very bad off. There was no logistic support; emoluments were not in for the men. We fight it out ourselves, I mean, just because we love our country. Definitely, if we were given all the necessary logistics needed at the front, our casualty rates would have been very, very small, I can assure you that.

[Silva] Well, on the day of the takeover, I was in conversation with three of you, there you were, and there was Second Lieutenant Nyuma and 2d Lieutenant Sandy. What happened to Sandy?

[Musa] 2d Lt. Sandy was murdered in cold blood by Lieutenant (Colonel Sim Turay). He is now on the run and we are looking out for him.

[Silva] Well, back in Freetown you have been causing quite a stir in certain circles of the civil service with your spot-checks in offices and ministries. What plans have you got for the civil service of Sierra Leone?

[Musa] Well, actually, my spot-check in the ministries is to actually make the civil service aware of the fact that they must be dedicated to their duties. I am actually working on getting a small but disciplined civil service who can work well in order to improve situations fast, because we want to go on with developing our nation fast.

[Silva] Well, what have you been doing to ensure that discipline is still maintained among Armed Forces personnel so that the ordinary Sierra Leonean will be assured that your action is indeed in their interest?

[Musa] We have, indeed, taken steps in ensuring that the officers and men do not molest or behave in any way unmilitary to law-abiding and innocent citizens. That is a matter we had given serious attention to immediately on assumption of office. [end recording]

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